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YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XVIII

THE EXPRESSION OF PURPOSE  
IN  
OLD ENGLISH PROSE

BY

HUBERT GIBSON SHEARIN, PH.D.

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy.



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# THE EXPRESSION OF PURPOSE IN OLD ENGLISH PROSE

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### AIM, SCOPE, AND METHOD

THE aim of this study is to treat exhaustively, and yet systematically, all manifestations in the Old English prose monuments of sentence-elements that express Purpose or Finality, viz. the Purpose Phrase and the Purpose Clause. The investigation of these will form Part I and Part II, respectively, of this paper.

To this end, every occurrence of each phenomenon pertinent to the subject has been noted and either recorded under its proper category in the body of the work, or else relegated to the index-lists in the Appendices. In addition, two charts have been inserted, one for the Purpose Phrase, the other for the Purpose Clause; these are designed to give in succinct form the actual numerical occurrence of each in its logical divisions, arranged with regard to authorship and chronology, in so far as these are determinable. It will be noticed also that the structure of the charts is in conformity with the topical sequence within the Part to which each is appended.

The Latin original of the translations has been observed, and has been recorded in those cases where it would be at all elucidative of the question under discussion. Excerpts for illus-

tration, both those from the Old English texts and those from the Latin parallel, have for brevity's sake been freely stripped of superfluous elements under categories where this process would not be detrimental to their value. However, omissions within the excerpt are always indicated.

Wherever possible and practicable, brief notice has been taken of parallel phenomena in cognate Germanic, in Latin and Greek, as influencing Germanic syntax, and also in the later periods of English itself. Statements made apropos of this are necessarily hurried, incomplete, and in great part taken at second-hand, since they are meant to be merely suggestive of the broader vista of Comparative Syntax; so that the reader may think of the purpose phrases and clauses of Old English not as isolated things, but as the outgrowth of earlier influences and tendencies, on the one hand, and as the origin in direct line of subsequent English usage, on the other.

It need hardly be remarked that the Phrase of Purpose bears a fundamental relation to the Final Clause, in that the former is often an abbreviated logical equivalent of the latter; while the prepositional formulæ introductory of the clause (pp. 63 ff.) owe their function immediately to the parallel prepositional phrase (pp. 33 ff.).

Finally, that there have not been errors both of inclusion and of exclusion due to oversight in dealing with so large a field of research, as well as discrepancies due to the personal equation in the case of some of the vaguer categories, I do not dare to hope. Indeed, I am conscious of a few minor incongruities between the citations to be gleaned from the body of the work and the supplementary index-lists, on the one hand, and those indicated in the charts, on the other. Theoretically, these should co-incide, but for practical purposes I feel sure that this inability to adhere to strict mathematical accuracy in every case will not vitiate in the least any results that may follow from this study.

## LIST OF OLD ENGLISH PROSE-TEXTS EXAMINED

This list is intended to include all the more important and representative monuments available. One gloss, the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns (contained in OET., v. *infra*), has been considered. These writings are arranged below, and indeed usually throughout the whole work, in approximate order of chronology and authorship. The abbreviations used are indicated on the left-hand margin of the pages following. Where more than one edition of a given text is cited, the references are to be taken as belonging to the first in order named, the others having been used only for verification &c. They are made in every instance to page and line, with these exceptions: the Bible translations and the Gloss = *chapter and verse*; Int. Sig. = *line*; Inst. and Æc. Th. = *page and marking on page*.

OET. = The Oldest English Texts, Henry Sweet. London, 1885 (EETS. 83).

Chron. = Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel, Earle and Plummer. Oxford, 1892.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, B. Thorpe. London, 1861 (Rolls Series).

Cod. Dip. = Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, Tomi i-vi, Johannis M. Kemble. Londini, 1839-1848.

Cartularium Saxonicum, i-iii, Walter DeGray Birch. London, 1885-1893.

Diplomatarium Anglicum, B. Thorpe. London, 1865.

The Anglo-Saxon Charter of Edward the Confessor to Coventry Minster, W. DeGray Birch. London, 1889.

Laws = Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, Reinhold Schmid, zweite Ausgabe. Leipzig, 1858.

Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, F. Liebermann, erster Band, erste u. zweite Lieferung. Halle, 1898-1899.

- The Legal Code of Ælfred the Great, M. H. Turk. Halle, 1893.
- PPs. = Libri Psalmorum, Versio Antiqua Latina, cum Paraphrasi Anglo-saxonica, B. Thorpe. Oxon., 1835. (The first fifty psalms are prose.)
- O. = King Ælfred's Orosius, Old English text and Latin original, Henry Sweet. London, 1883 (EETS. 79)<sup>1</sup>.
- BH. = The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Part I, text and translation, Thomas Miller. London, 1890 (EETS. 95, 96). The Latin original in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 95.
- Bo. = King Ælfred's Old English Version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, W. J. Sedgefield. Oxford, 1899.
- King Ælfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, with an English translation, J. S. Cardale. London, 1829. The Latin original in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 95.
- Sol. = King Alfred's Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, with the Latin original, H. L. Hargrove. Holt & Co., 1902.
- Blooms of King Ælfred, from Flores Soliloquiorum of S. Augustinus, text of W. H. Hulme, Engl. Stud., 18. 331-356.
- CP. = King Ælfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, with an English translation, Henry Sweet. London, 1871 (EETS. 45, 50). The Latin text in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 77.
- Dial. = Bischofs Wærferth von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialogen Gregors des Grossen, aus dem Nachlasse von J. Zupitza, nach einer Copie von
- <sup>1</sup> With reference to J. Bosworth's London ed., 1859.

Henry Johnson, herausgegeben von Hans Hecht.  
Leipzig, 1900. The Latin text in Migne's  
*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 77.

M. = The synoptic edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew,  
W. W. Skeat. Cambridge, 1887.

Mk. = The synoptic edition of the Gospel of St. Mark,  
W. W. Skeat. Cambridge, 1871.

L. = The synoptic edition of the Gospel of St. Luke,  
W. W. Skeat. Cambridge, 1874.

John = The synoptic edition of the Gospel of St. John,  
W. W. Skeat. Cambridge, 1878.

The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in parallel  
columns, with the Versions of Wycliffe and  
Tyndale, J. Bosworth and G. Waring, 3rd  
ed. London, 1888.

Guth. = The Anglo-Saxon Prose Version of the Life of  
St. Guthlac, C. W. Goodwin. London, 1848.

Mart. = An Old English Martyrology, G. Herzfeld. London,  
1900 (EETS. 116).

Lch. i. } Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early  
Lch. ii. } = England, O. Cockayne, i-iii. London, 1864,  
Lch. iii. } 1865, 1866.

Das Herbarium Apuleii, Hugo Berberich. Heidel-  
berg, 1902.

ÆHi. = Homilies of Ælfric, with English translation, vol. i,  
B. Thorpe. London, 1844.

ÆHii. = The same, vol. ii. London, 1846.

Arch. = Supplement to Ælfric's Homilies, A. Napier.  
Herrig's Archiv, 101 & 102.

De Temp. = Ælfric's translation of Bede's *De Temporibus*, in  
Wright's *Popular Treatises on Science*, pp. 1-19.  
London, 1841.

Gram. = Ælfric's *Grammatik*, J. Zupitza. Berlin, 1880.

LSi. = Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, with translation, vol. i,  
W. W. Skeat. London, 1881-1885 (EETS.  
76, 82).

LSii. = The same, Parts iii and iv. London, 1890-1900  
(EETS. 94, 114).

Int. Sig. = Ælfric's Version of Alcuini Interrogationes Sigeuulfi  
in Genesin, the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin texts,  
G. E. MacLean. Anglia, 6 and 7.

Gen(esis)	}	=	Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, Bd. i, C. W. M. Grein. Cassel und Göttingen, 1872.
Exod(us)			
Lev(iticus)			
Num(bers)			
Deut(eronomy)			
Jos(hua)			
Jud(ges)			

Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi,  
Anglo-Saxonice. Historiæ Judith Fragmentum:  
Dano-Saxonice, Edwardus Thwaites. Oxon.,  
1698.

Æc. Asm. = Ælfric's writings contained in Angelsächsische  
Homilien und Heiligenleben, B. Assmann.  
Kassel, 1889.

Æc. Th. = Ælfric's writings contained in Ancient Laws and  
Institutes of England, B. Thorpe. Printed under  
the direction of the Commissioner of the Public  
Records of the Kingdom, 1840.

De Vet.	}	=	Ælfric de vetere et de novo Testamento, also his Præfatio Genesis, in Bibliothek der angelsäch- sischen Prosa, Bd. i, C. W. M. Grein. Cassel und Göttingen, 1872.
Pref.			

Hex. = The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Hexameron of  
St. Basil, with translation, H. W. Norman.  
London, 1849.

Coll. = Colloquium Ælfrici, in Wright's Vocabulary, 2nd ed.  
(Wülcker), vol. i, 89-103. London, 1884.

Neot = Ein angelsächsisches Leben des Neot, Wülcker.  
Anglia 3, 102.

Esther = Ælfrics Bearbeitung des Buches Esther, B. Assmann.  
Anglia 9, 25-39.

- Inst. = The non-Ælfrician writings contained in Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes. See *Æc. Th.* above.
- BiH. = The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century, with translation, R. Morris. London, 1880 (EETS. 58, 63, 73).
- Wulf. = Wulfstan's Homilies, A. Napier. Weimar, 1882.
- HL. = The non-Ælfrician writings contained in Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, B. Assmann. Kassel, 1889. See *Æc. Asm.* above.
- BR. = Die Winteney-Version der Regula S. Benedicti, Lateinisch und Englisch, M. M. A. Schröer. Halle, 1888 (*circa* 1200 A. D.).  
Die angelsächsischen Prosabearbeitungen der Benedictinerregel. Kassel, 1885. (*Æthelwold's*, or the 'Common' version, *circa* 961 A. D.) Edited by the same.
- The Rule of St. Benet, Latin and Anglo-Saxon interlinear version, H. Logeman. London, 1848 (EETS.).
- BO. = Das Benedictiner-Offizium, ein altenglisches Brevier aus dem 11 Jahrh., Emil Feiler. Heidelberg, 1901 (Anglistische Forschungen, J. Hoops, Heft 4).
- Ap. T. = The Anglo-Saxon Version of Apollonius of Tyre, with translation, B. Thorpe. London, 1834.  
The Latin original is: *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Michael Ring. Posonii et Lipsiæ, 1888.
- Nic. = Evangelium Nicodemi, in Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice, Edwardus Thwaites. Oxon., 1698.

# PART I

## THE PURPOSE PHRASE

### INTRODUCTION

THE term 'phrase' is here understood to include all elements of finality except the clause, the study of which will form the second half of this paper. This application of the word will always appear logical except perhaps in regard to some manifestations of the simple infinitive of purpose (pp. 10 ff.), which are more strictly words, not phrases. However, questions of symmetry and of convenience in the grouping of the greater divisions of this study have, in view of the very limited scope of the phenomena that might be called *words* expressing finality, caused the extension of the term 'phrase' as explained.

Phrases of purpose, then, will find treatment below in the following divisions :

Chapter I. Phrases containing non-finite Verbal Forms.

Chapter II. Prepositional Phrases.

### CHAPTER I

#### VERBAL PHRASES

HERE are meant all phrases of finality containing some form of the non-finite verb, which will be studied in three sections, viz. :

- I. The Simple Infinitive.
- II. The Prepositional Infinitive.
- III. The Present Participle.

## I. THE SIMPLE INFINITIVE OF PURPOSE (148)

The manifestations of this fall into four categories, which will be easily recognized in the sub-sections below.

A. Verbs expressing or implying motion may be followed by the simple infinitive of purpose.

A similar usage can be traced consecutively through other languages more or less nearly related to Old English. Greek in the poetry shows the simple infinitive after *εἶμι, ἔκω, βαίνω* and sometimes after other verbs; e.g. Eur. *Tro.* 874 *κρανέιν ἐμοί νῦν ἔδοσαν*. Latin has it in the earlier monuments, and in the poetry as an archaism; e.g. Ter. *Hec.* iii. 2 *filius tum introiit videre quid agat*; *Æn.* i. 527 *non ferro Libycos populare Penates venimus*. Also in post-classical usage (cf. *infra*, p. 10).

In the Germanic branches this usage may be sketched thus: Gothic exemplifies it freely after verbs of motion, both in exact translation of a parallel Greek construction and in paraphrases; e.g. L. 14. 19 *gagga kausjan thans* (= *πορεύομαι δοκιμάσαι αὐτά*. Cf. also M. 5. 17. According to A. Köhler (*Germania* xl. 421), the verbs usually followed by a simple infinitive of purpose are: (*faura-*) *gaggan*, (*faura-*) *qiman*, *galeithan*, *garinnan*, *urrinnan*, *snivan*, *sandjan*, *atsteigan*, *usstandan*, *sik nehvjan*, (*sik*) *gawandjan*, *briggan*. After these the prepositional infinitive with *du* is exceptional, so that in Gothic we find the greatest extension of this usage, as will appear presently.

OHG. shows later restriction, the simple infinitive of purpose here being admitted only after *gan*, *faran*, *queman*, *ilan*, *sentan* (Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 97). For MHG., H. Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 119) finds it surviving after *sitzen*, *gen*, *vallen*; and Modern German has it only in a few phrases with *gehen*; viz. *baden gehen*, *schlafen gehen*, *spazieren gehen*, *jagen gehen*, *weiden gehen*, *sitzen gehen*. Rarely it occurs after *kommen*; e.g. *Ich komme sie warnen* (Freytag); and in a few phrases with *reiten*; e.g. *Als er allein ritt jagen* (Simrock). This is similar to its survival only after *go* in Modern English, noted in the next paragraph.

Coming to the Low German dialects, Old Saxon admits the simple infinitive of purpose after *kuman*, *gewilan*, *gangan*, and *faran* (Steig, *ZfdPh.* xvi. 307). Old English prose shows it after *faran*, *feran*, *gan* and its compounds, *utgan*, *foregan*, after *gewilan*, *sendan* and its compounds, *asendan*, *onsendan*<sup>1</sup>. This will be fully illustrated below. However, just as we have seen the restriction of this usage in the development of German, so we are not surprised to find (Einenkel, *Mittelengl. Syntax*, 238) that in Middle English the pure infinitive follows only *cumen* and *gon*, while in Modern English (Mätzner, *Gram.* iii. 16) it survives only after *go*, parallel to the above-noted construction with *gehen*. For an example, cf. Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* 5. 4 Let us go visit Faustus.

NOTE. This use of the simple infinitive always implies more or less of auxiliary force in the main verb. In the modern survivals in English and German, *go* and *gehen* are sometimes very nearly pure auxiliaries of will or even of futurity. E.g. 'I am going to sleep,' 'I am going to do it'; or 'Ich gehe schlafen' = almost 'Ich will (werde) schlafen.' Cf. the French, 'Je vais lire,' &c.

The occurrence of the simple infinitive of purpose after verbs of motion is in Old English prose as follows:

1. after *cuman*.

OET. 326, Vesp. Ps. 95. 13 cwom doeman eorðan (= venit iudicare terram (Repeated id. 328. 97. 9). BH. 296. 9 ðone ðe hy untrumne neosian cwomon (= quem languentes visitare venerant. Dial. 251. 9 ðider com eles biddan. M. 5. 17 nelle ge wenan ðæt ic come towurpan ða æ . . . ne com ic na towurpan, ac gefyllan (= veni solvere . . . non veni solvere sed adimplere. Mk. 1. 24 come ðu us forspillan (= venisti perdere nos? L. 1. 59 hig comon ðæt cild ymsniðan (= venerunt circumcidere. Id. 5. 32 ne com ic rihtwise clypian (= non veni vocare. Id. 12. 51 forðam ðe ic com sybbe on eorðan sendan (= pacem veni

<sup>1</sup> Mätzner (*Gram.* iii. 39) would add *fundian* to this list, quoting as an example Caedmon 2363 hwider fundast ðu . . . siðas dreogan; and he adds, '*fundian* kann freilich den Verben der Bewegung (*niti*, *properare*) beigezählt werden.'

dare in terram. Id. 19. 10 Mannes Sunu com secean and hal don ðæt forwearð (= venit . . . quærere et salvare quod perierat.

2. after *faran*.

ÆHii. 372. 24 and ic wille faran fandian ðæra (= et eo probare illa. Gram. 134. 12 ic fare huntjan (= venatum pergo.

3. after *feran*.

L. 7. 24 hwi ferde ge on westene geseon (= quid existis . . . videre? Id. 6. 12 he ferde on anne munt hine gebiddan (= exiit in montem orare. Id. 7. 26 ac hwi ferde ge ðæne witegan geseon (= sed quid existis videre . . .

4. after *gan, gangan*, and their compounds.

BH. 186. 29 eode gesittan to ðæs halgan weres liice. Id. 198. 1 georne bæd ðæt he eode to his seðle sittan to his swæsendum. Id. 214. 14 wæron foregongende in ðone leg ðæs fyres todælan (*sic*) (= præcedentem ignes flammæ dividere. CP. 415. 14 ðæt Dina wære utgangende sceawian ðæs londes wif (= egressa est D. ut videret mulieres regionis illius. Also CP. 415. 19. M. 11. 8 hwi eode ge ut geseon (= quid existis videre? Id. 20. 1 ðe . . . uteode ahyrian wyrhtan (= qui exiit . . . conducere. L. 1. 76 ðu gæst beforan Drihtnes ansyne his weg as gearwian. ÆHii. 242. 35 he eode eft sittan mid his ðegnum. LSi. 404. 3 4 Hieu ða eode to his gereorde sittan. LSii. 200. 176 eode ongean feccan ðæt oðer. Gram. 134. 12 vis doctum ire, wylt ðu gan leornian; lectum pergit, he gæð rædan; bibitum pergo, ic gange drincan. Add OET. 416. 12 foregæst soðlice biforan onsiene dryhtnes gearwian weg as his (= preibis (*sic*) ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus.

5. after *sendan*.

BH. 2. 1 ic Beda . . . sende gretan ðone leofastan cyning Ceolwulf. Id. 54. 30 he sende Agustinum (*sic*) . . . bodian Godes word (= misit . . . A . . . prædicare verbum. Id. 226. 11 (he) heo sende Godes word bodian (= misit prædicare verbum. Id. 250. 19 ða sende he Gearaman . . . to gereccenne ðone gedwolan and heo to soðfæstnesse geleafan eft gecegan (= misit

ad corrigendum errorem revocandamque ad fidem. Id. 398. 1 bæd ðæt he him onsende wines ondrincan. L. 1. 19 ic eom asend wið ðe spreca and ðe ðis bodian (= missus sum loqui . . . et evangelizare. Id. 4. 18 he sende me ðearfum bodian and gehæftum alysednesse and blindum gesihðe, forbrocene gehælan and bodian drihtnes andfenge ger and edleanes dæg.

It will be noticed that most of the above instances of the simple infinitive of purpose occur within the earlier period of Old English. In the writings of the Ælfrician period it is hardly exemplified at all, the prepositional infinitive having taken its place. It may be added that this simple infinitive is even more common in the earlier poetry than in the prose of Ælfred's time<sup>1</sup>.

NOTE 1. The familiar idiom, a hortatory imperative formed with (*w*)*uton* (<*witan*, Mätzner, *Gram.* ii. 120) + infin., is probably an instance of the simple infin. of purpose after a verb of motion. Mid. and Mod. Eng. still show the hortatory force of the verb of motion, which in the later language is *go(n)*; but instead of the infin. of OE. is found a paratactic imperative after asyndeton. E. g. Chaucer, Morris's ed. iii. 208 Goth bringeth forth the vessealx. Cf. also the Mod. Eng. 'Go, bring it to me,' &c. The survival of such imperatives with *go* tends to controvert yet more Grimm's theory that OE. (*w*)*uton* < *witan* (= novimus). See Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 89.

NOTE 2. In this connexion is to be noticed a paratactic construction, in which the second verb, though grammatically co-ordinate, is the logical expression of the end of motion with reference to the first, *faran* or *gan*. This second verb translates a Latin hypotactic infin. or participle of purpose; and, as far as our investigation has been able to go, the idiom is peculiar to English. In the prose the occurrences are: M. 18. 12 and gæð and secð (= et vadit querere. The Lindisfarne Gloss has: geongeð to sæcenne. L. 14. 19 nu wille ic faran and fandian hyra (= eo probare. Lind. and Rush. give: gongo to cunanne. Id. 14. 31 cynincg wyle faran and feohtan (= rex iturus committere bellum. Lind. and Rush. give: cynincg bið sferende to settanne gifeht. B.H. 23. 13 ðæt he moste faran and his fæder bebyrgan. Here the original as well as the North. glosses show unmistakable final force in the second verb. See also p. 91.

In Mid. Eng. (Einenkel, *Gram.* p. 239), this construction is not infrequent. E. g. Chaucer, Morris's ed. ii. 210 But I say not that every wight is holde . . . To gon and usen hem in engendrure. Or after asyndeton: id. ii. 177

<sup>1</sup> See K. Köhler, *Der syntactische Gebr. des Inf. u. Part. im Beowulf*. Münster Diss., 1886.

Goth geteth hire that hath my life in cure; id. iii. 208 Goth bringeth forth the vessealx. Cf. Note 1, above.

This usage has survived, with some extension of application, in present-day colloquial English. E.g. 'Now you've gone and done it!'; 'Next he went and shot.' Or after took, e.g. 'He took and hit me!' Perhaps after try, e.g. 'Try and do it.' In all these expressions the first verb in parataxis has lost its logical meaning and serves only to indicate a mere sequence of the action which is contained in the second verb, with reference to a previously existing state of affairs. The content of the first verb is so insignificant that vulgar usage suppresses it altogether, putting in its stead a vague, colourless adverbial merely *implying* motion. E.g. 'He up and threw the brick'; 'He out and said what was in his head.'

NOTE 3. There is met four times, in the prose of the early period, the infin. of a verb of motion after another verb of like kind, used pleonastically to express manner of motion. Cf. Homer's ἔβη ἵμεν, ἔβη θέειν. This usage is also met rarely in OS. (Steig, *ZfdPh.* xvi. 307). In OE. it is common only in the poetry, the instances in the prose being: BH. 400. 28 ic mid ðy heafde and mid honda com on ðone stan dryfan. Bo. 6. 9 ða com ða gan in to me heofoncund wisdom. HL. 179. 328 ure Drihten himself com of heofonum to eorðan astigan. Dial. 63. 28 he gewat feran ut. By the time of Ælfric this infin. of manner of motion had been supplanted entirely by the construction that survives even to-day, viz. the present part. (B. Schrader, *Ælfric. Syntax*, p. 70). E.g. ÆHii. 14. 7 Gabrihel him com to fleogende. Id. 134. 26 him com ða ridende to sum arwurðe ridda. Other examples are: id. 162. 13; 510. 14.

#### B. Idiomatic Expressions after *Sellan* and Kindred Verbs.

After *sellan*, rarely after *hladan*, *beran*, *don*, the infinitives of the verbs, *drincan*, *etan*, *supan*, *ðicgan*, occur, forming the stock phrases, *sellan drincan*, *sellan etan* &c. Greek shows this usage after δίδωμι; Latin allows it even in prose after *do* and *ministro*. Gothic (A. Köhler, *Germania*, xii. 436) has *drigkan*, *skalkinon*, *matjan* freely after *giban*: e.g. Mk. 15. 23 jah gebun imma drigkan vein mith smyrna (= καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ πικρὴν ἐσμυρνισμένον οἶνον. OHG. (Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 100) has *geban ezzan*, *geban trincan*; while Modern German yet retains this idiom, lost in English, in the rare construction exemplified in the sentence, 'Gib mir trinken.' See Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 103. The modern idiom, always in English and usually in German, has the prepositional infinitive (v. p. 26).

Doubtless the original force of the infinitive was that of

purpose, which may still be seen in many of the examples cited below that translate the Latin gerund, supine, or infinitive of final force: e.g. BH. 192. 12 *ðā gehalgode ic wæter... and sealde ðam untruman drincan* (= tunc benedixi aquam... et abtuli ægro potandum. Secondly, the purpose idea may be so weak that the infinitive is felt almost as a complementary object of the main verb: e.g. John 4. 10 *syle me drincan* (= da mihi bibere. Thirdly, the two may be crystallized into one verb-idea, which is then followed by an accusative object: e.g. Lch. i. 178. 25 *wið toðe ce syle etan ðysse sylfan wyrte croppas*. Further instances of all these degrees of unity between *sellan* and the dependent infinitive can be found at will among the examples below, viz.

1. *sellan + drincan*.

O. 134. 36 and sealde hie *ðam gewundedum drincan* (= herba... in potum sauciis data. BH. 178. 7 *ðā seolfan moldan... monige men neomende wæron... and sealdun heora untrumum monnum and neatum drincan*. Add BH. 156. 7; 192. 13; 203. 33; CP. 328. 13. Dial. 161. 4 *him syllan drenc drincan*. M. 25. 42 *ge me drincan ne sealdun* (= non dedistis mihi potum. John 4. 10; Mart. 44. 7; 94. 19; ÆHi. 574. 11; 582. 23; LSi. 312. 70; Gen. 21. 19; Exod. 2. 19; Inst. 483, top; Bih. 229. 14 *him sealdon attor drincan*. The Leechdoms naturally have very frequently the formula, *syle drincan*, standing at the close of a prescription. We have noted in the three volumes of Cockayne's edition seventy-six occurrences.

Three instances are found of an analogous use of *drincan* after *beran*, *don*, *hladan*, respectively, viz.: BH. 396. 8 *ineode and ðam biscupe bær drincan and us... scencte*. LSi. 464. 376 *oððe gif him ðyrste, ðu do him drincan*. CP. 469. 7 *ac hladað iow nu drincan*.

2. *sellan + etan*.

CP. 328. 2, 3 *saldon etan*. M. 25. 42 *ge ne sealdon me etan* (= non dedistis mihi manducare. Mk. 5. 43; L. 8. 55; 9. 13; John 6. 31 *he sealde him etan hlaf of heofone* (= dedit eis manducare... The Leechdoms show *sellan etan* used as

a formula in prescriptions. (Cf. *sellan drincan*, above.) E. g. Lch. ii. 180. 12 *selle him ðonne flæsc etan*. Id. i. 104. 10; 178. 25; 380. 8; ii. 128. 21; 264. 21; 312. 4; 314. 3, 15; 330. 12; 358. 2; iii. 18. 4; 22. 5, 24; 106. 15.

3. *sellan + supan*.

Lch. iii. 106. 21 *syle him supan*. Add id. i. 82. 21; 86. 27.

4. *sellan + ðicgan*.

Lch. i. 172. 12 *eft gif ðu ðas wyrte sylst ðicgean*. Id. 198. 22 *syle hy dælmælum swa grene etan oððe on drince ðicgean*. The imperative formula, *syle ðicgean* occurs: Lch. i. 72. 15; 122. 21; 130. 21; 172. 2; ii. 184. 6; 320. 12; iii. 70. 4.

### C. The Independent Infinitive of Purpose.

Twice we find the simple infinitive following loosely the main verb as a final element. E. g. O. 46. 16 *hie heora here on tu todædon; oðer æt ham beon heora lond to healdanne, oðer ut faran to winnanne*. L. 1. 17 *he gæð toforan him on gaste and Elias mihte ðæt he fædera heortan to heora bearnum gecyrre and ungeleaffulle to rihtwisra gleawscype, Drihtne fullfremed folc gegearwian* (= *et ipse præcedet ante illum . . . ut convertat corda patrum in filios et incredibiles ad prudentiam iustorum, parare Domino plebem perfectum*). In the latter example, the Latin word-order may be responsible for the Old English construction.

### D. The Infinitive of Reference becoming Final after certain Words.

Here the force of the infinitive is not that of pure finality; but, since the simple instead of the prepositional form is exceptional, the instances are noted. BH. 218. 8 *ond he from eallum middangeardes ðingum freo in ancorlifes drohtunge gestihhade his life geendian* (= *in anchoretica conversatione vitam finire disposuit*). Miller here translates 'settled to end his life.' CP. 232. 22 *he tiolode men forlæran ðæt hie wurden eac forlorene*. BH. 56. 20 *forðon he gearo wære in ðam ylcan gewinne mid him beon*.

*Supplementary.**The Voice of the Simple Infinitive of Purpose.*

Only the active meaning of the simple infinitive in final function is found in Old English, as may easily be noted in the examples already quoted, in which the Latin original is of like voice. However, Gothic exemplifies what may be taken as a passive infinitive: e. g. L. 3. 7 atgaggandeim manageim daupjan fram sis (= ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ). Old English exemplifies a passive simple infinitive in non-final constructions, however, after *bebeodan*, *hatan*, *lælan*, *geseon*, *gehyran* (Wülfiŋg, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 191). Cf. *Beow.* 38 ne hyrde ic cymlicor ceol gegyrwan. BH. 36. 3 het hine ða teon and lædan to ðam deofolgyldum (= ad simulacra eum jussit pertrahi. But for all this, the fact remains that Latin active forms, infinitives and supines of purpose, alone are translated by the Old English simple infinitive; while on the other hand (v. p. 28) the passive forms, the gerunds and gerundives, are usually represented by the Old English prepositional infinitive.

## II. THE PREPOSITIONAL INFINITIVE OF PURPOSE (524)

Under this head will be discussed:

- A. The form, or composition, of the phrase.
- B. The syntactic function.
- C. The verbal properties, negation, and co-ordination of a series.

A. The Composition of the Prepositional Infinitive expressing Purpose.

This consists of two essential parts: the preposition, with its variations, and the infinitive, in its inflexional manifestations. These will be discussed separately in the sections following. Here it must be remembered, however, that, as regards composition and form, the prepositional infinitive expressing purpose is not logically to be differentiated from this in other syntactic

relations. Still, in the sections below only the instances of the phrase in final function have been noted.

Therefore, as to the form of the prepositional infinitive phrase of purpose, there will be discussed:

1. The Preposition before the Infinitive.
2. The Inflexion of the Infinitive.
1. The Preposition before the Infinitive.

The Germanic languages all use freely the prepositional infinitive, formed with a preposition + the infinitive. This preposition has in all the same general meaning seen in the Latin *ad*, viz. Gothic, *du*; High German, *ze*, *zi*, *zu*; Old Saxon and Old English, *to*. Norse uses *at*<sup>1</sup>, but the fundamental idea is unchanged. Cf. the Latin *ad* + gerund, the Romance *à* + inf.

Grimm suggests (*Gram.* iv. 107) that this prefixing of the preposition to the infinitive is probably in origin only a strengthened form of the earlier simple infinitive (pp. 9 ff.) to mark a less complete blending of this with the verb upon which it depended. *To*, by analogy of its wide application in all phrases of finality (v. pp. 35 and 64), was naturally the word chosen for this use; so that finally the emphatic *to* + infinitive became the commonplace usage and supplanted almost altogether the simple infinitive, making this in its turn exceptional (v. p. 12).

This gave reason for a second strengthening of the *to*-phrase, which actually is found widespread in English and related languages. This will be explained under the caption:

### *The Intensifying of the Preposition.*

As just remarked, this is general in English and cognate languages. German in its later development shows *um zu*, and later Netherlandish *om te* (Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 104). Cf. OE. *ymb* in phrases (v. p. 52) and clauses (v. p. 77) of purpose.

Swedish and Danish, on the other hand, prefix *for* to the previously existent *at* (v. *supra*) making the phrase, *for at* + infin.

<sup>1</sup> For an instance of *at* instead of *to* in English, cf. Warton, *Ywain*, 3. 120 that ge wald grante to me that grace *at* wend with me to my purchase. (Quoted in Fiedler and Sachs's *Gram.* p. 66.)

To this *for*, of Scandinavian stock, is due the Old English intensive *for*, giving the phrase *for to* + infin.; which by the analogy of Old French *pour à* became so widespread in the later language as to become in its turn weakened in force, so that a third preposition, *umben*, of Germanic stock, is rarely found before *for*; e. g. *Hali Meidenhed*, p. 5 *ðe deueles here of helle, ðæt is umben for to leaden in to ðe worldeð ðeowdom Syones dohter*. And, on the other hand, just as the Old French *pour* was used without *à* in the unemphatic phrase, so occasionally later English shows *for* alone without *to*; e. g. *Layamon*, l. 60 *Corineus was to wode iware for hunti deor wilde*. See Mätzner, *Gram.* iii. 57, 58.

Thus we have seen that English shows traces of three different intensives of the *to* + infin.-phrase, viz. the High German and the Low German *um*, *om*, on the one hand; and the Danish *for*, and later the Old French *pour*, on the other. The influence of the first upon English usage we have found to be hardly perceptible; but to the Danish, as regards its origin, and to the French, as regards its extension, is due *for* in the phrase, *for to* + infin., which attained great predominance in the seventeenth century, and which may yet be heard among the unlettered of to-day.

Coming now to our specific problem, we meet the intensified phrase with *for to* only twice in Old English, each time in the later period of the language, as is to be expected in view of what has just been said. The occurrences are: Cod. Dip. iv. 306. 3 (Harold, 1066 A.D.) and *ich bidde eou alle ðæt ge bien him on fultume at ðys cristendome Godes gerichtten for to setten and to driuen (= rogamus etiam uos quatenus eidem si necesse fuerit auxiliari velitis ad christianitatem sustinendam*. Chron. Thorpe's ed. i. 377. 30 (1127 A.D.) *Oc se kyng hit dide for to hauene sibbe of se eorl of Angeow and for helpe to hauene togænes his neve Willelm*.

NOTE 1. In Lch. i. occur several word-combinations in which *wið* apparently is used as an intensifier of *to*, viz. Lch. i. 124. 7 *Wið innoð to astyrigenne genim ðas wyrte*. Id. 126. 21 *Wið fæstne innoð to styri-*

genne genim ðisse ylcan wyrte. Id. 308. 10 Wið hagol and hreohnysse to awendenne . . . Id. 330. 3 his hyd is bryce hundum and eallum fiderfetum nytenum wið ðoles gewinne on to donne. Id. 334. 13 Wið wyrmas to cwellenne . . . drince. (Cf. id. 334. 16 Nædran eac to acwellanne, nim . . .)

However, *wið* here is not to be conceived as strengthening *to*. Rather is anacoluthon to be recognized just after the noun which in each case follows *wið*. Cockayne's translation of id. 126. 21 above, 'For fast inwards, to stir them take the juice &c.,' gives the true syntactical relation. *Wið* + object is merely a stock phrase for the beginning of a leechdom; and it must also be borne in mind that all these expressions are medical formulæ, and disregard often any show of syntactical coherence; e.g. id. 336. 3 Eft wið teter of andwlitan to donne, heortes horn gebærnedne, meng wið ele, smyre . . . Add id. 336. 15; 362. 8 Wið wiðerweard hær onweg to adonne, gif ðu nimest wulfes mearh and smyrest mid hraðe ða stowe ðe ða hær beoð of apullud, ne geðafad seo smyrung ðæt hy eft wexen.

## 2. The Inflexion of the Prepositional Infinitive.

Inflexion of verbal substantive forms is too familiar to need comment. It is enough to say that in all the Germanic languages, with the exception of Gothic and Norse, inflexion of the infinitive after the preposition is the rule. The case is the dative, with ending *-(n)e*.

This is rarely omitted. However seven times we have noted an uninflected prepositional infinitive in final phrases, viz.

PPs. 18, *heading*, Dafid sang Gode to ðancunga . . . mannum to ðeowian. CP. 366. 14 mon snið ða bearn-eacan wif . . . hiora mearce mid to ryman. See also id. 366. 3. Chron. 115. 31 and sætte ðær munecas Gode to ðewian. Cod. Dip. ii. 304. 6 (Charter of Eadred, 955 A.D.) fif hida . . . to freon him and his erfeweardum. Cod. Dip. iv. 195. 27 (Charter of Eadward, 1066 A.D.) ðæt ge him fulstan to driuan Godes gerichte (= ut auxiliari eidem velitis ad christianitatem sustinendam. Cod. Dip. iv. 293. 10 (*circa* 1066 A.D.) and ic an into eueri bisscopes stole fif pund to delen for mine soule. Add Chron. 117. 13.

NOTE. Once the preposition is omitted, leaving the inflected infinitive alone in expression of finality, viz. LSi. 222. 38 Petrus siðode neosigenne (MSS. U and B. read *neosigende*) ða geleaffullan.

Grimm (*Gram.* iv. 112) cites two parallel cases of omission in Early German, but adds, 'leicht kann die partikel beim schreiben ausgefallen sein.' In the Old English sentence the copyist no doubt confused the participle of purpose (v. p. 32) with the prepositional infinitive.

*The Prepositional Infinitive in -ende.*

We have just seen that the infinitive in final phrases was, with a few exceptions, inflected by the dative ending *-ne*, *-e*. However, there have come under observation ten instances of forms in *-ende*, co-inciding with the present participle. These will be discussed in the paragraphs below.

Grimm (*Gram.* iv. 113) apropos of the infinitive inflexional ending says: '... schon in mhd. die form *-ende*, für *-enne*, hin und wieder auftaucht, ... im 14 jh. scheint (sie) ganz vorzuherrschen, ... ja diese form erscheint sogar im altfries. als die gewöhnliche. ...' Thus we find the prepositional infinitive in *-nde* abundantly in the cognate German and Saxon dialects, parallel to its above-mentioned presence in Old English. Koch suggests (*Gram.* ii. 69) the Old Norse pres. part., which was used in a passive gerundial sense without a preceding preposition, as having perhaps immediately influenced the spelling in Old English. Grimm (*Gram.* iv. 66) and Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* i. 93) speak also of the similar form and use of the Latin *ad* + gerund in *-ndum* as being to some extent explanatory of the *-nde* ending in Old English. Finally the analogy of the pres. part. (v. p. 32) is to be thought of.

However this may be, we find especially frequent in the later MSS. of Old English, such as MS. E. of the Chronicle or the Winteney version of the Benedictine Rule, the ending *-ende* of the prepositional infin., causing this to co-incide with the pres. part. in form. This ending, be it said in parenthesis, passes in Middle English into *-inde* and then, by a well-known confusion with verbal substantives in *-ing*, *-ung*, becomes finally *-ing*. E. g. *Layamon* 5561 He sohte to flaeinde (MS. A.); id. 2647 He ferde ut to raeving.

Thus the prepositional infinitive of purpose in *-ende*, on the one hand, occurs in the late monuments; on the other, strange to say, we note it in the early Vespasian Psalms and in a charter of *circa* 867 A. D., leaving a long intermediate period during which it does not appear. This apparent difficulty would perhaps yield to

systematic study of all infinitive forms in *-ende*, whatever their function; but our field must be limited to those expressing purpose, which occur as follows:

OET. 283. Vesp. Ps. 69. 2 to gefultumiende me oefesta (= ad adjuvandum me festina. Id. 363. 118. 62 ic aras to ondetende ðe (= surgebam ad confitendum tibi. Id. 391. 141. 8 gelæd ut of carcerne sawle mine to ondetende noman ðinum (= educ de carcere animam meam ad confitendum nomini tuo. Cod. Dip. ii. 97. 16 (Æthelred of Wessex, 867-871 A.D.) ich . . . selle . . . fif hide him to habenne and to brukende on elche halue. John 7. 25 se ðe hi seceað to ofsleande (*Variants* = ofsleanne, acwellanne). BR. 29. 3 ne com ic to donde myne agenum (*sic*) willan (= non veni facere voluntatem meam. Id. 35. 23. Id. 31. 30 on ðan sydum mystlicæ stæpas of æadmodnysse and of ðeawfæstnysse seo godcunde laðunge to stigende upp mid hafod gefæstnod (= in qua latera diversos gradus humilitatis vel discipline (*sic*) evocatio divina ascendendos inseruit. Id. 39. 9 to eallum ðam ðingum, ðe hyre beoð betæht to donde (= ad omnia que (*sic*) sibi injunguntur . . . Id. 39. 26 ðeo mynecena hyre tunga forwyrnoð to specende (= linguam ad loquendum prohibeat. . . .

#### B. The Syntactic Function of the Prepositional Infinitive Phrase of Purpose.

Common in all Germanic languages is an infinitive phrase used as the logical equivalent of a final clause. In English this usage began early (Mätzner, *Gram.* iii. 68) and has grown with the language into greater freedom, so that in colloquial Modern English the phrase has almost entirely supplanted the longer construction. In Old English, therefore, we may expect to find the infinitive phrase used often as an equivalent of the final clause. The two may even stand co-ordinately side by side; e.g. Cod. Dip. ii. 175. 23 and ic an ðæs landes . . . Æffan to brucenne and to bewitanne and ðæt heo hæbbe . . . ealra gearwæstma ða ðrie dælas. Also, John 12. 47; HL. 202. 222, &c.

This logical abbreviation of the final clause by means of the

phrase is possible whenever the subject of this clause is co-incident in meaning with some element within the main clause; which element, in event of the abbreviation of the final clause, would become the logical subject<sup>1</sup> of the infinitive. This can occur in six ways, viz.

1. The grammatical subject of the main clause is the logical subject of the prepositional infinitive of purpose.
2. The object of the main verb is the logical subject of the phrase.
3. A dative in the main clause is the logical subject of the phrase.
4. A genitive in the main clause is the logical subject of the phrase.
5. The object of a preposition standing in the main clause is the logical subject of the infinitive in the purpose phrase.
6. Some element implied in the main clause is felt vaguely as the logical subject of the phrase.

These will be exemplified in the sections following.

1. The logical subject of the infinitive is the grammatical subject of the main verb, which may be, (a) active, (b) passive.

(a) The main verb is in the active voice.

Chron. 238. 21 *ðises geares eac com se Eorl Rotbert of Normandig to sprecene wið ðone cyng.* Laws 64. 16 *ðæt he ne come no ðas bebodu to breccanne ne to forbeodanne ac . . . to eacanne (= non veni (legem) solvere sed adimplere (M. 5. 17)).* Gen. 2. 10 and *ðæt flod eode of stowe . . . to wætrienne neorx-ena-wang (= et fluvius egrediebatur de loco . . . ad irrigandum paradisi-um.* This is the most general manifestation of the abbreviation of final clauses.

The other instances noted of the same phenomenon are:—

OET. 175. 10; 267. 58. 6; 334. 102. 20; 336. 103. 26; 340. 105. 5; 373. 121. 4; Laws 62. 6, 29; 64. 19; 70. 14; 352. 6; PPs. 9. 12; 26. 3, 4; 36. 32; 41. 9; O. 46. 16; BH. 62. 8, 14; 76. 11; 82. 21; 98. 18; 132. 5; 158. 27, 31;

<sup>1</sup> See p. 101, and foot-note.

162. 7; 208. 20; 220. 13; 224. 21; 236. 23; 294. 20; 296. 16; 330. 29; 362. 18, 24; 366. 23; 372. 10; 388. 10; 408. 17; 422. 13; 438. 14: Bo. 19. 7; 31. 15; 40. 25; 48. 12; 96. 32; 133. 14: CP. 186. 6; 292. 3; 381. 24: Dial. 20. 27; 63. 28; 231. 13; 287. 2; 325. 10: M. 2. 2, 13; 8. 29; 9. 13; 10. 34: Mk. 15. 36: L. 1. 76-79: John 5. 18; 12. 47: *ÆHi.* 48. 19; 194. 28; 534. 18: *ÆHii.* 160. 2; 254. 21; 424. 16; 570. 1: Lev. 1. 3: HL. 202. 22.

(b) The main verb is passive.

Chron. 11. 28 *her Patricius wæs asend . . . to bodianne Scottum fulluht.* BH. 272. 24 *ðonon he wæs sende . . . to bodienne and to læranne (= unde erat ad prædicandum verbum . . . destinatus.* Id. 396. 14 *wæs se biscop gelaðod . . . circan to halgianne (= vocatus ad dedicandam ecclesiam.* Exod. 5. 12 and *ðæt folc wæs todrifen ofer eall Egipta land cef to gadrienne (= dispersusque est . . . ad colligendas paleas.*

Other examples are:

Chron. 55. 4: O. 282. 34; 290. 10: BH. 108. 22; 160. 7; 260. 11; 330. 18; 394. 18; 396. 28; 420. 15: CP. 441. 30: Dial. 183. 25; 301. 25; 302. 10; 309. 2; 315. 6; 325. 1; 327. 9: M. 26. 12.

NOTE. The following infinitives are used absolutely, yet implying a purpose relation to a main verb to be supplied, whose grammatical subject will be logically the subject of the phrase; e.g. Lch. ii. 188. 19 *To rymanne ðone cealdan magan . . . (sc. 'genim')*: id. 304. 9 *gealdor on to singanne.*

2. The object of the main verb is the logical subject of the infinitive phrase of purpose.

Chron. 21. 31 *Mellitum he sende to bodianne . . . fulluht.* O. 46. 21 and *ðone oðerne dæl ðær leton ðæt lond to healdonne.* Id. 188. 10 *his folc sende gind ðæt lond to bænnanne and to hergenne.* BH. 142. 22 *ða sende he hine godcunde lare to læranne (= misit eum ad prædicandum.* Id. 468. 30 *sende him cræftige wyrhtan stænene cyricean to timbrienne.* John 1. 33 *seðe me sende to fullianne on wætere (= qui misit me baptizare.* *ÆHi.* 402. 29 *se asende his sunu Titum to oferwinnenne*

ƿa earman Iudeiscan. Other examples: OET. 367. Vesp. Ps. 118. 112; 390. 140. 4: id. 416. Vesp. Hym. 9. 17: Chron. 227. 20: Laws 40. 2: O. 96. 11; 234. 4: BH. 60. 28; 104. 14; 114. 14; 150. 8; 172. 17; 244. 30; 250. 19; 268. 31; 356. 31: CP. 405. 33: Mk. 3. 14: L. 1. 71: John 4. 38: ÆHi. 388. 16; 520. 6: ÆHii. 74. 11.

3. A dative after the main verb is the logical subject of the infinitive.

Chron. 35. 12 her Egbriht cining sealde Basse preost Raculf mynster to tymbrianne. Id. 223. 17 him wæs betæht ƿe castel to healdene (*sic*). Laws 68. 18 selle . . . his wæpn . . . his freondum to gehealdanne. O. 296. 1 he hie beta[h]te his twæm ealdormonnum to bewitanne. BH. 158. 29 se cyning him gef and sealde æhte and land mynster to timbrianne (= ad instituenda monasteria. Id. 396. 3 he hiere sealde ƿæt wæter to bergenne (= præcipiens ut gustandum illi daret. Dial. 186. 24 ƿæt ƿu me berest to drincane. John 17. 4 ƿæt weorc ƿæt ƿu me sealdest to donne (= quod dedisti ut faciam. Gram. 135. 7 *commoda mihi librum ad legendum*, læne me ƿa boc to rædenne. The other instances are: OET. 447. 11: Chron. 73. 24; 127. 11; 176. 1: Cod. Dip. i. 310. 13: ii. 5. 24; 121. 29; 175. 19; 388. 3: iv. 26. 2; 106. 15: vi. 126. 31; 178. 7: O. 42. 29; 54. 10; 64. 25; 142. 24: BH. 50. 10; 76. 30; 108. 16; 160. 8; 230. 17; 232. 25; 262. 7; 272. 9; 396. 3; 440. 1; 454. 9: Bo. 19. 22; 42. 8: CP. 368. 13: M. 3. 7; 20. 19: Mk. 3. 15: John 6. 52; 19. 16: ÆHii. 190. 14; 198. 11; 244. 13; 554. 8: LSi. 358. 328: HL. 202. 238.

NOTE. It has occurred to me as possible that the later use of *for* introducing an acc. + infin. construction may have been suggested, or at least had the way made easy for its adoption, by an Old English dative belonging grammatically to the main verb and being logically the subject of a following infinitive phrase; e. g. Deut. 32. 46 beodað ƿa word eowrum bearnum to healdenne and to donne (= mandetis ea filiis vestris custodire et facere. LSii. 138. 203 and dydon on wæter wanhælum to ƿicganne = 'put it into water for the sick to drink.' Other examples are: Cod. Dip. i. 297. 5; 316. 15: Dial. 194. 20: ÆHii. 2. 5; 90. 5.

4. A genitive in the main clause is the logical subject of the infinitive. The examples are:

OET. 360. Vesp. Ps. 118. 5 eala sien gereht weges *mine* to haldenne rehtwisnisse ðine (= *utinam dirigantur viæ meæ ad custodiendas justificationes tuas*. Also id. 400. Vesp. Ps. 149. 7. Bo. 40. 15 ðæt bið ðone *cyninges* andweorc and *his* tol mid to ricsianne. L. 20. 20 ðæt hig hine gesealdon ðam ealdron to dome and to *ðæs deman* anwalde to fordemanne.

5. The object of a preposition in the main clause is the logical subject of the final infinitive. The example is:

Dial. 104. 32 ðæt glæsfæt . . . to ðam arwurðan fæder wæs gebroht . . . to bletsigenne.

6. Sometimes there is no clearly defined element in the main clause that can be pointed out as the logical subject of the phrase, which in this case is logically, as well as grammatically, impersonal. Here the infinitive loses in predicative force, and is joined to some element, viz. (a) noun, (b) adjective, (c) adverb, in the main clause with modifying or restrictive function, rather than being felt in purpose relation to the main verb.

(a) The idea of purpose in the infinitive phrase fades into an adjective element, modifying a noun.

BH. 472. 27 ðeawas on to lifgenne. Id. 232. 4 ðætte ða onfongnan neowan stowe mynster to timbrenne (= *loca ad faciendum monasterium*. Id. 242. 7 bec on to leornienne (= *libros ad legendum*. Id. 436. 7 ðæt he stowe hæfde in ðæm streame to standenne (= *quo haberet locum standi*. M. 11. 15 se ðe earan hæbbe to gehyranne, gehyre (= *qui habeat aures audiendi; audiat*. Mk. 3. 15 he him anweald sealde untrumnessa to hælanne (= *et dedit illis potestatem curandi*. Gram. 135. 6 *habes agros ad arandum*, hæfst ðu æceras to erigenne. Add BH. 236. 1; 238. 23; 274. 7; 456. 19: Bo. 40. 21: Mk. 3. 20; 4. 9, 23: Lch. ii. 158. 21; 180. 24: Exod. 17. 6: Num. 11. 6.

(b) The purpose idea in the infinitive phrase fades into a mere adverbial element of reference, modifying an adjective, e.g.

OET. 149 (Bede's Death-song) Fore there neidfærae nænig uuiurthit thoncsnotturra than him tharf sie, to ymbhycgannæ (= ad cogitandum. Id. 201. Vesp. Ps. 13. 3 bið hreðe foet heara to ageotenne blod (= veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem. Dial. 287. 2 Ða Ða hire lichama wæs nacod to ðweanne. Lch. i. 338. 3 heortes hæf beoð swiðe gode mid to smeocanne wifmannum. BH. 410. 4 scearpe wæron Godes word to bodienne and to lærenne (= ad prædicandum verbum idoneus. Laws 152. 5 ealle beon gearwe . . . to farenne (= parati sunt . . . ire. Add PPs. 7. 13: BH. 420. 1: Lch. i. 346. 18: ÆHi. 128. 18, 25: Gen. 3. 6: Num. 14. 40: BIH. 163. 13.

(c) In two instances the infinitive depends upon an adverb in the main clause and the purpose idea fades into one of mere reference, e. g.

ÆHii. 78. 14 ge habbað hwonlice to swincenne = 'little time to labor.' Int. Sig. 285 Hwæt is, Ðæt God gelogode Cherubim and fyren swurd and awendedlic to gehealdenne (= Quid est: Cherubim vel flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendum viam ligni vitæ posuit.

NOTE. The incomplete verbs, *beon*, *weorðan*, &c., are often followed by a prepositional infinitive to express obligation or privilege, like the Latin second periphrastic conjugation: e. g. ÆHi. 2. 24 buton Ðam bocum . . . Ða synd to hæbenne. Here the phrase is in origin perhaps one of purpose, but this function had long passed into that of mere predication after the incomplete verb, with the syntactic value just mentioned.

### *Supplementary.*

#### *The Prepositional Infinitive after Sellan.*

This verb as a rule is followed by the simple infinitive (v. p. 13) of *drincan*, *etan*, *supan*, &c. in the idiomatic expressions, *sellan drincan*, &c. However, occasionally the prepositional form is met with in Old English. Cf. Gothic *giban drigkan* or *giban du drigkan*; similarly High German *geban ezzen* or *geban ze ezzenne* (H. Röttken, *QF.* 53. 124; Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 108; Köhler, *Germ.* xii. 436). The prepositional

infinitive, instead of the regular simple form, after *sellan* occurs in Old English as follows :

Sellan + to drincanne = 8.      Sellan + to supanne = 4.  
 „ „ etanne = 6.      „ „ ðicganne = 6.

As is natural, the prepositional infinitive in many of these instances marks a less degree of unity between the main verb and the following infinitive, *sellan* not having so completely the force of a mere auxiliary as it shows when followed by the usual form. This will appear in the following categories :

1. The prepositional infinitive seems to be preferred in translating the Latin gerund or gerundive constructions of purpose. As already seen (v. p. 13), the simple form is usual in translating the Latin infinitive and supine. O. 42. 29 and sealdon ðæm Minotauro to etanne (= qui . . . filios . . . devorandos addicebant. John 6. 52 Hu mæg ðes his flæsc us syllan to etene (= quomodo potest carnem suam dare ad manducandum? Gen. 28. 20 and sylð me hlaf to etenne and reaf to werigenne (= et dederit mihi panem ad vescendum et vestimentum ad induendum. Num. 11. 4 Hwa sylð us flæsc to etanne (= Quis dabit nobis ad vescendum carnes? (repeated Num. 11. 13).

NOTE. The presence or absence of *ad* may have been to some extent a determinant of the use or omission of *to*.

2. A separable adverbial prefix seems to have the effect of divorcing *sellan* from the following purpose idea enough to cause this to be expressed by the prepositional, not the simple, infinitive; e.g. ÆHii. 244. 12 eft swa gelice gelæhte ænne calic . . . and sealde his gingrum of to supenne æfter gereorde. LSii. 142. 264 sealde ðam adligan of to supenne. The same effect is seen after the passive; e.g. Lch. i. 370. 15 eft weðe hundes heafod and his lifer gesoden and geseald to etanne . . . gehæleð; as well as when the infinitive precedes *sellan*; e.g. O. 108. 28 and hit on mete oððe on drynce to geðicgenne gesellan.

3. The other occurrences show a usage not to be distinguished perhaps from the more common simple infinitive. Lch. ii. 180. 23 sele ðonne ærest ðæt healf to drincanne; id. 188. 10

sele ælce dæge to drincanne; id. 190. 2 sele bollan fulne to gedrincanne. Other examples with *to drincanne* are: id. 236. 14; 248. 19; 252. 2; 268. 1; 288. 7. Lch. ii. 216. 9 sele to etanne. Id. 220. 6 Ðam mannum sceal man sellan ægra to supanne. Id. 288. 9 sele Ðam men to supanne. Id. 218. 8; 230. 2; 238. 2; 282. 14 have the construction *sellað to ðicgenne*.

NOTE. *Ceowan* and *swillan*, though quite analogous in meaning to *etan*, *drincan*, *supan*, *ðicgan*, are not found in the simple form after *sellan*. However, the exemplifications are too few to warrant the statement that the use of the simple infinitive of these verbs would be unidiomatic. They are: Lch. ii. 24. 9 sele to ceowanne and wyrð him to swillanne Ðone geagl; id. 24. 11 sele Ðonne gelome Ðæt geagl to swillanne; id. 24. 28 sele to swillanne Ðæt geagl.

### C. The Properties of the Prepositional Infinitive Phrase of Purpose.

Since the subjects under this head are not peculiar to the infinitive in final function, we note briefly:

1. The Voice of the Infinitive.
3. The Negating of the Phrase.
2. The Tense.
4. Co-ordination and Copulation.

#### 1. The Voice of the Prepositional Infinitive of Purpose.

It is doubtful whether this can ever be with certainty called passive, since the infinitive may be felt as a mere verbal noun, as in John 17. 4 Ðæt weorc Ðæt Ðu me sealdest to donne, where the Latin, *quod dedisti ut faciam*, and the concurrent Lind. and Rush. glosses, *Ðætte ic gedoe*, show plainly that *to donne* = not 'to be done,' but 'for doing.' The analogy of the Gothic, M. 6. 1 atsaihwit armaion izwara ni taujan in andwairthja manne *du saihwan im* (= πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς, gives little conclusive evidence, in view of the slavish finger-tip transliteration sometimes seen in Ulfilas. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the Old English simple infinitive in non-final function seems at times to have passive force (v. p. 16), and that the prepositional infinitive even in final function now and then translates a Latin passive construction; yet it seems more probable, in view of the scarcity of such examples and of the frequent close approxima-

tion of all Old English infinitives to mere abstract verbal nouns, to think that this last is the case in sentences like the following.

BH. 150. 6 *ða eft seo modor æfter ðon onsende . . . in Gallia rice to fedanne Dægbrehte ðam cyninge (= quos postea mater . . . misit in Galliam nutriendos regi Dægberecto. Dial. 275. 25 sum mæssepreost wære ðære, ðam wæs an cyrice befæsted to healdanne. Dial. 324. 24 nu ic eom geseald ðysum dracan to forswelganne (= ecce draconi ad devorandum datus sum. M. 27. 26 and sealde [hine] heom to ahonne (= tradidit eis ut crucifigeretur. Lind. and Rush. = ðætte he on rode were genægled. Add John 19. 16: O. 290. 9 on ðam færehte Firmus wearð gefangen and forðgelæded to sleanne. BH. 172. 17 rice men sendon heora dohtor ðider to læranne (= filias suas erudiendas . . . mittebant. Id. 244. 30 sende he hine to hadiganne ofer sæ to Ægelberhte biscope (= misit eum ordinandum. Id. 396. 27 ða ðruh him biggesette in ðære he to bebyrgenne geseted beon scolde (= in quo sepeliendus poni deberet. Add BH. 260. 12, 13; 420. 15: Dial. 183. 25; 301. 25; 302. 10: ÆHi. 534. 18: ÆHii. 254. 21.*

## 2. The Tense of the Infinitive of Purpose.

In Old English only the infinitive of present signification occurs, whether this be simple or prepositional in form. The periphrastic perfect phrase of purpose (e. g. Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, 5. 6 This train he laid *to have entrapped* thy life) belongs to the later language.

## 3. The Negation of the Prepositional Infinitive.

A purely negative phrase of purpose, i. e. one equivalent strictly to a negated clause (e. g. 'He paid him *not to do it*'), does not occur in Old English prose. Here, a negated final phrase is always found to follow a main verb of like kind, and the negation of the former is only a repetition of that of the latter. The particle is *nā* (*ne + ā*), placed in the phrase immediately before the infinitive or any of its modifiers that precede it. E. g. Laws 62. 38 *leases monnes word ne rece ðu nō ðæs to gehieranne.*

Id. 64. 16 *ðæt he ne come no ðas bebodu to breccanne ne to forbeodanne, ac mid eallum godum to eacanne.* *ÆHi.* 320. 5 *he ne com na to demenne mancynn . . . ac to gehælenne.* *HL.* 202. 222 *ne coman hig na to feohtanne.* The sole exception, allowing *nā* + infl. infin. after a positive main verb, is in event of a negative phrase standing in a positive series; e.g. *Cod. Dip.* ii. 175. 19 *and selle . . . fif peningas . . . to habbenne and to brucenne and na of ðam mynstre to sellanne.* (The phenomenon appears twice more in the same charter.)

#### 4. Co-ordination of Phrases.

In a series of co-ordinate phrases, each is usually inflected and *to* is repeated before each. But in a few instances only the first of the series takes *to* and the inflexional ending, the rest showing the simple infinitive form; e.g.

*BH.* 250. 19 *sende he Gearaman . . . to gereccene ðone gedwolan and heo to soðfæstnesse geleafan eft gecegan* (= *misit ad corrigendum errorem revocandamque ad fidem . . . provinciam.* *L.* 1. 71 *and he alydde us . . . mildheortnesse to wyrccenne mid urum fæderum and gemunan his halegan cyðnesse* (= *ad faciendam misericordiam . . . et memorari testamenti sui.* *L.* 9. 2 *he sende hig to bodianne Godes rice and untrume gehælan* (= *misit illos prædicare . . . et sanare.*

This non-repetition of the preposition, first in copulative and then also in disjunctive co-ordination, began greatly to extend itself at an early period (*Piers Pl.* then *to jangle and jupe and jugge hir even cristen*); so that in Modern English, as in Modern German, this omission is the rule<sup>1</sup>.

However, in our investigation, full inflexion and repetition of *to* is the rule, as stated above. The instances are as follows:

(a) *and.* *BH.* 372. 10 *ðæt wit eac somod moton to heofenum feran his gife ðær to geseonne and to sceawigenne.* *M.* 20. 18, 19 *mannes sunu byð geseald . . . ðeodum to bysmrigenne and to swingenne and to ahonne.* *ÆHi.* 582. 6

<sup>1</sup> See Valentine and Keane's *German Grammar*, p. 146.

ic com to secanne and to gehælenne. Add Chron. 227. 20: Cod. Dip. i. 310. 13: ii. 5. 22; 175. 19: iv. 26. 2: vi. 178. 7: O. 188. 10: BH. 50. 10; 62. 8; 172. 17; 272. 24; 438. 14; 454. 9: CP. 292. 3: Lch. i. 346. 18: ii. 180. 24: AEHii. 360. 21; 444. 5: Inst. 444. xvii; 459. xxxvi: Wulf. 202. 1; 295. 31.

(b) *ac* (occurring only after a negated member in the series). Laws 64. 16 *ðæt he ne come no ðas bebodu to brecanne ne to forbeodanne, ac mid eallum godum to eacanne.* AEHi. 320. 5 *he ne com na to demenne mancynn . . . ac to gehælenne.*

(c) *ge . . . ge.* BH. 330. 16 *monige men . . . wæron bærnde . . . to gebiddenne ge ælmessan to sellene ge Godes asægdnesse to beranne.* Lch. ii. 4. 11 *blodgetena, ge on to bindanne ge on eare to donne . . .*

(d) *oððe.* Laws 62. 29 *gif mon næbbe buton anfeald hrægl hine mid to wreonne oððe to werianne.*

(e) *swuðæ . . . swuðum* (sive . . . sive). Cod. Dip. v. 167. 19 (Bishop Denewulf, 901-909 A.D.) *hie mæ mid ealræ æstæ unnun his mæ ðæt to bocianne ðinnæ deg, swuðæ to brucannæ swuðum to lænannæ, ðæ ðæ leofust bið (= quod ipsi bono fauore concedunt michi ut eam tibi per cartam tradam quamdiu uixeris, siue ad possidendum siue ad commodandum alteri, cuicunque tibi magis placuerit.*

(f) *ne . . . ne* (v. *sub b, supra*).

NOTE. Once occurs with asyndeton a series of phrases alternately exemplifying the simple infinitive and the prepositional form. This is probably due to slavish imitation of the original. L. 1. 76-79 *ðu gæst beforan drihtnes ansyne his wegas gearwian, to sylleenne his folce hys hæle gewit . . . onlihtan ðam ðe on ðystrum and on ðeaðes sceade sittað; ure fet to gereccenne on sybbe weg (= praeibis . . . parare vias, ad dandam scientiam . . . inluminare his qui . . . sedent, ad dirigendos pedes nostros in via pacis.* Gothic shows the same succession of simple infinitives and infinitives with *du* in the translation of Ulfilas.

### III. THE PRESENT PARTICIPLE EXPRESSING PURPOSE (11)

This is an extension of the common appositive participle of circumstance, i.e. manner or concomitant action, after verbs of motion, rarely after verbs of rest. Crenshaw (*Pres. Part. in OHG. and Mod. HG.*, p. 36) mentions this blending of the functions of manner and purpose in all periods of High German. See also Grimm, *Gram.* iv. 125. Since the participle does not predicate finality, but merely allows this to be inferred from the context, we must grant much to the personal equation in deciding upon the presence of the purpose function here. Compare, as an illustration, the following versions of *προσαυτῶν* and *mendicans* in Mk. 10. 46 *ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προσαυτῶν* (= *sedebat juxta viam mendicans*. Ulfilas has: *sat faur wig du aihtron*<sup>1</sup>; Wycliffe and Tyndale have: *sate . . . beggyng*; and Luther translates: *sass ein Bettler . . . am Wege und bettelle*. Among these, Ulfilas alone felt the participle as one of purpose. Luther, on the other extreme, understood it as expressing only concomitant action. Hence there is extreme difficulty in determining with precision in all cases whether the present participle has final force or not. The following list, therefore, embraces those present participles in Old English that appear to me to contain something of final value. In view of what has been said above, others might be added, or conversely some of these may be excluded; but, though no fixed category is possible, the instances given may perhaps be taken as typical of the use of the present participle in Old English to express finality, viz.

CP. 172. 1 *he ðonne færð secende hwæt he sellan scyle*, L. 13. 7 *ic com wæstm secende* (= *venio quærens fructum*. John 6. 6 *ðæt he cwæð his fandigende* (= *hoc autem dicebat temtans eum*. The North. glosses have here *ðætte gecostade*. ÆHii. 358. 5 *ða ferde he to ðam wæle his lic secende*. Arch. 101. 318. 19 and *gæð secende ðæt an ðe him losode*. LSi.

<sup>1</sup> Of course it is possible that the translator here took *προσαυτῶν* as an infinitive form.

388. 78 se cyning sende . . . ærendracan . . . emb ðe axiende. LSii. 130. 70 se biscop ða ferde bodigende. Id. 324. 142 eodon ða secende ealle. *Æc. Asm.* 104. 57 comon him to . . . friðes biddende. Id. 113. 365 wende ut ongean secende Judith<sup>1</sup>.

NOTE. Cf. the pres. part. after a verb of fearing, Mk. 9. 32 and hi adredon hine ahsiende (= timebant eum interrogare. Lind. and Rush. have *ðæt hia gefrugno*.

## CHAPTER II

### PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES OF FINALITY

THESE fall easily into the following sections :

- |                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| I. <i>To</i> -phrases.   | IV. <i>In</i> -phrases.    |
| II. <i>For</i> -phrases. | V. <i>Ymbe</i> -phrases.   |
| III. <i>On</i> -phrases. | VI. <i>Æfter</i> -phrases. |

It will be noticed that each one of these prepositions is also a factor in the introductory prepositional formulæ of the Purpose Clause (v. pp. 63 ff.).

#### I. *To* IN PHRASES OF FINALITY (358)

The preposition *to* in Old English is used very freely with a noun of verbal content to form phrases of purpose. This usage also prevails with its parallels in cognate languages and yet survives in Modern English as well. E.g. Er that es mir zum Trost (= damit er mich tröstete); Er kam mir zu Hülfe (Il vint à mon secours). OHG. and O. Saxon will furnish examples of the same usage. For later English, cf. Butler's *Hudibras*, i. 3. 505 Some, to the glory of the Lord, perjured themselves.

It is to be noted that the prepositional infinitive with *to*, already discussed, is logically of this category, the function of the preposition being exactly the same in origin, whether this be followed by a formal verbal noun, the inflected infinitive; or whether it be followed by a word verbal in *content* only, not in

<sup>1</sup> K. Köhler (*Inf. und Part. in Beow.*, p. 68) points out *Beow.* 2062 *him se oðer ðonan losað lifigende*, as an instance of the part. of purpose.

*form.* The first class has already been treated as the prepositional infinitive of purpose<sup>1</sup>. The study of the second class, *to* + the abstract verbal noun, occupies the next pages.

*To* expressing purpose is only an easy metaphoric extension of *to* in its primary meaning of *motion toward*. An interesting example of both applications in one sentence is: HL. 144. 10 ðæt . . . he ðider cume to his uhtsange and to mæssan and to æfensange and na to nanum idelum geflite ne to nanum woruldlicum spræcum, ac to ðam anum ðæt he his synna Gode andette. Here, *to ðam anum ðæt* introduces a clause of final significance (v. p. 67).

In true purpose phrases<sup>2</sup>, the object of *to* is always a noun of verbal content, which is often accompanied by a modifying objective genitive, thus making a combination equivalent to a purpose clause containing a transitive verb. E.g. Num. 18. 1 God geceas Aaron him to sacerde and of his ofspringe *to his offrunge* simle (=fratres tuos de tribu Levi sume tecum *ut ministrant tibi*). Rarely we find instead of an objective genitive + verbal substantive, a compound word, the first member of which is logically the object of the verb-idea in the second: e.g. Exod. 5. 7 ne sylle ge leng nan cef ðis Ebreiscan folce *to tigelgeweorce* (=nequaquam ultra dabit is paleas . . . *ad conficiendos lateres*). BlH. 105. 36 hwa him to hæle and to helpe and *to feorhnere* on ðas world astag? (cf. *for bearn-teame*, p. 45).

In addition to this very usual genitive just mentioned, there will be observed in many of the examples below a dative of interest, placed always just before the *to* and having very nearly

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> To be distinguished from the true purpose phrase composed of *to* + an abstract verbal noun, are phrases consisting of *to* + a noun denoting office or personal relationship, on the one hand; or function, on the other.

Examples of the first are: Exod. 2. 14 hwa gesette ðe to caldre and to deman ofer us (=qui te constituit principem et iudicem super nos? Cf. also *to wife*, Laws 62. 15; 96. 4; LSii. 384. 109: *to were*, id. 382. 87: *to fæder*, AEHi. 92. 16: *to biscope*, BH. 146. 14: *to lareowe*, id. 240. 15, &c., &c. For instances of the second, cf. *to tacne*, Laws 58. 25; O. 38. 35: *to bisne*, id. 74. 24: Dial. 2. 27; *to mete*, id. 36. 29, and many others. See footnotes on pp. 43 and 47. Cf. p. 52, note.

the function of an object accusative, in case the phrase were expanded into a clause. E. g. *Æc. Asm.* 43. 484 *seo sunne scinð . . . mannum to lihtinge* = *scinð ðæt heo ða menn onlihte*. (Cf. *Er kam mir zu Hülfe*, and for the Gothic parallel see Douse, *Int. to Ulfilas*, p. 218.)

Phrases of purpose, consisting of *to* + the dative of a noun of verbal content, will be divided for study into four classes, according to the form of the noun, as follows :

- A. *To* + verbal substantives in *-ing*<sup>1</sup>.
- B. „ „ „ *-ung*.
- C. „ „ „ *-ness*.
- D. *To* + verbal abstracts with no formal ending.

These will be fully exemplified below.

A. *To* + verbal substantives in *-ing* forming purpose phrases.

*lætting*: *Chron.* 237. 4 and *se cyng syððan scipa ut on sæ sende his broðer to dære and to lættinge*.

*lihting*: *ÆHi.* 110. 14 *ða steorran sint mannum to nihtlicere lihtinge gesceapene*. Add *Arch.* 102. 42. 12. *Gen.* 1. 16 *ðæt mare leoht to ðæs dæges lihtinge and ðæt læsse leoht to ðære nihte lihtinge* (= *luminare majus ut præsetet diei, et luminare minus ut præsetet nocti*. *Æc. Asm.* 43. 485 : *Hex.* 12. 14.

*rihting*: *Dial.* 315. 9 *wære ætewed . . . to rihtinge . . . manna*. *ÆHi.* 558. 21 and *him God halige æ sette to heora lifes rihtinge*: *ÆHii.* 210. 5: *De Vet.* 21. 27: *Cod. Dip.* iv. 279. 22 (v. p. 43).

(ge)trymming: *ÆHi.* 28. 23 *we wyllað to trymminge eowres geleafan eow gereccan*: *ÆHii.* 378. 8; 384. 8: *LSi.* 6. 4: *Æc. Asm.* 5. 111: *De Vet.* 4. 15; 14. 8 (v. p. 43).

B. *To* + verbal substantives in *-ung* forming purpose phrases.

*andettung*: *CP.* 102. 25 *ðæt hie mægen iernan and fleon to ðæs lareowes mode him to andettunge*.

<sup>1</sup> The rarer verbal substantive in *-eng* is not found in purpose phrases.

- behreowsung: *ÆHi.* 402. 11 feowertig geara fyrst Godes mildheortnys forlet ðam wælhreowum ceastergewarun to behreowsunge heora mandæda.
- blawing: *Jud.* 7. 16 ða het Gedeon his geferan habban heora byman him mid to ðære blawunge.
- bodung: *BlH.* 185. 33 he me to bodunga sende.
- clænsung: *ÆHii.* 48. 26 ðreo healice ðing gesette God mannum to clænsunge. *Lev.* 1. 4 (v. p. 44).
- fandung: *ÆHi.* 182. 7 ðis he cwæð to fandunge ðæs leorningcnihtes (= hoc autem dicebat temtans eum.
- feormung: *Laws* 82. 9 gif sweord-hwita oðres monnes wæpn to feormunge onfo . . .
- geedstaðlung: *ÆHi.* 342. 25 ða wæs mancynn gesceapen to geedstaðlungre ðæs forlorenan heapes.
- getimbrung: *Hex.* 38. 8 hoga ðu nu . . . ymbe ða gastlican gestreon to ðæs stypeles getimbrunge.
- halgung: *ÆHii.* 578. 17 Salomon ða gegaderode ealle his witan to ðæs temples halgunge. *BH.* 368. 25 (v. p. 44).
- herung: *ÆHi.* 180. 21 se man ðe for gylpe hwæt to gode deð, him sylfum to herunge, næfð he. . . *ÆHii.* 36. 5. *Int. Sig.* 189.
- hreowsung: *HL.* 144. 4 ðe eallum mannum to hreowsunge and to dædbote geset is.
- offrung: *Num.* 18. 1 God geceas Aaron him to sacerde and of his ofspringe to his offrungre simle (= fratres tuos de tribu Levi sume tecum ut ministrent tibi.
- sceawung: *Dial.* 195. 8 com to sceawunge ðæs biscopes deaðes. *BlH.* 187. 13 folc come to ðisse sceawunga.
- strangung: *Hex.* 8. 17 he gesceop to ures lifes strangunge.
- (ge)swutelung: *Cod. Dip.* iv. 279. 20 and ða boc . . . sealdan to swutelunge. *ÆHi.* 92. 32: *LSi.* 264. 39; 468. 428: *Gen.* 21. 30: *Inst.* 437, *middle*.
- tacnung: *Bo.* 16. 17 to hwæm cumað hi ðonne elles butan to tacnungre sorges and anfealdes sares? (v. p. 44).
- teolung: *Dial.* 26. 20 geornfulran to ðære teolunge godcundra beboda. *Hex.* 16. 6 maran tuxas to heora metes tilunge.

ðancung: PPs. 29, *heading*. singð . . . Gode to ðancunge ðære blisse.

ðenung: BH. 38. 9 seo menigo . . . wæs geciged to ðenunge ðæs . . . martyres. Id. 38. 30 bæd ðæt him wæter seald beon to sumre his ðenunge. Id. 38. 33; 90. 1; 226. 18: Dial. 206. 9 com to ðegnunge ðæs Godes weres. Id. 288. 7: Lch. iii. 440. 13: ÆHi. 406. 4: Inst. 458. xxxiv: BR. 127. 20 (v. p. 51).

ðingung: Cod. Dip. iii. 60. 6 and ða munecas libban heora lif æfter regole ðæs halgan Benedictes us to ðingunge ðæt we ðone Hælend hæbben us glædne.

ðre(a)ung: Bo. 137. 13 cymð he to edleane his yfla oððe to ðreunge (*sic*) (v. p. 44).

wæterung: ÆHii. 222. 29 ðæt Israhela folc geðafode ðæt sume . . . leofodon to wudunge and to wæterunge.

weorðung: Laws 316. 25 gehwylc to weorðunge his Drihtne do (= ad honorem Creatoris sui faciat. Inst. 433, *end*: BlH. 11. 30 se com to wlitignesse and to weorðunge his bryde. Wulf. 106. 29: BO. 55. 5 (v. p. 44).

witnung: ÆHi. 410. 29 ðam feondum heo bið betæht on hire geendunge to ecere witnunge.

wrastlung: Dial. 321. 2. Very doubtful.

wudung: ÆHii. 222. 29. See under *wæterung*, above.

wuniung: BR. 125. 20 mynecene ne underfo to wuniunge (= ne . . . sanctimoniale ad habitandum suscipiat.

wyriung: ÆHii. 36. 5 ure tunge is gesceapen to Godes herungum . . . na to deofollicum wyriungum.

C. *To* + verbal abstracts in *-ness* forming purpose phrases.

alys(ed)ness: PPs. 48. 7 ðæt he ðæt weorð agife to alysnesse his sawle. ÆHi. 194. 16 ða sende God Fæder his Sunu to mancynnes alysednysse. Cod. Dip. vi. 190. 22 nu geuðe he ðis land . . . his sawle to ecere alysednisse. Id. ii. 97. 11; iv. 260. 1; 268. 12; 288. 2; v. 106. 23: M. 20. 28: ÆHi. 24. 33; 214. 19; 284. 24; ÆHii. 6.

- 9; 202. 15: Dial. 261. 25. Add Cod. Dip. v. 248. 10 (v. p. 44).
- awehtness: BH. 422. 20 to awehtnesse lifgendra monna of saule deaðe sum mon wes (*sic*) sum fæc dead (=ad excitationem viventium).
- awrigenness: L. 2. 32 leoht to ðeoda awrigenesse and to ðines folces wuldre (=lumen ad revelationem . . . et gloriam).
- beorhtness: Lch. i. 348. 5 to eagen a beorhtnysse, wudu buccan gealla.
- forgifenness: ÆHii. 98. 29 and ðæs halgan husles ðigene mid geleafan underfon, us to synne forgifennysse and to gescyldnysse deofellicra costnunga: Wulf. 284. 26 (v. p. 48).
- forsewennys: ÆHi. 60. 24 and woldon ða (gymstanas) tocwy-san . . . to wæfersyne, swylce to forsewennysse woruldlicra æhta.
- gereordness: Dial. 347. 32 brohte . . . hlaf to gereordnesse.
- gescildness: O. 194. 30 se him ðone ren to gescildnisse onsende. ÆHii. 98. 29.
- gewemmedness: LSi. 212. 39 ða ðing ðe ðu woldest to gewem-mednysse me syllan.
- gewitnyss: Dial. 86. 29 sealde ðis tacen to gewitnysse his agenes mægnes. Id. 342. 16: Laws 196. 13: John 1. 7 ðes com to gewitnesse (=hic venit in testimonium (v. pp. 48, 50)).
- hereness: Dial. 91. 22 ic wolde asecgan hwylce hugu wisan to herenesse ures Alysendes (v. p. 52).
- hyrsumness: Dial. 288. 7 heo wære farende to ðegnunge and hyrsumnesse ðære . . . fæmnan.
- onlysness: Dial. 340. 9 ne beoð heora lichaman na in circan alegde ma, and furður to onlysnesse heora sawle ðonne to maran eacan heora genyðrunge. Cf. alys(ed)ness, *supra*.
- onsægdness: BH. 142. 5 he in ðam ilcan herige wigbed hæfde to Cristes onsægdnesse and oðer to deofla onsægdnisse.
- (ge)trymness: cf. (ge)trymning, *supra*. BH. 108. 17 ðe se ilca papa . . . sende to frofre and to trymnisse. Id. 204. 19 ða ilcan studu utan togesette wæs to trymnisse ðæs wages

(=in munimentum . . . parietis. Id. 204. 27 : Dial. 20. 9 ; 71. 76 (v. p. 45).

sahtnyss : Chron. 199. 8 geaf ða ðone cyng xl marc goldes to sahtnysse.

wlitigness : BIH. 11. 30 se com to wlitignesse and to weorðunge his bryde.

D. *To* + abstract nouns of verbal signification, but having no formal ending.

Here are classed the following phrases containing nouns of more or less verbal force.

to æhte : BH. 196. 20 ðæt ic ðe synderlice to æhte geceas (=quem tibi specialiter possidendum elegi.

to andlifene : Bo. 30. 3 ðas eorðlican wæstmas sint gesceapene netenum to andlifene.

to are : Lch. i. 388. 22 and eac ðusend ðisa engla clipige ic me to are. Cod. Dip. ii. 77. 28.

to bærnætte : LSi. 108. 301 : Gen. 22. 9 swa he hyt wolde habban to his suna bærnytte.

to beswice : PPs. 23. 4 ne nænne að ne swerað to biswice his nyhstan (=nec juravit in dolo proximo suo. Bo. 30. 4 ða woruldwelan sint gesceapene to biswice ðam monnum.

to bigengum : LSii. 406. 113 preostas gehadode to ðæs Hælen-des biggengum.

to cwale : ÆHi. 54. 3 ðeah ðe ic minne agenne lichaman to cwale gesylle (=etsi tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam (1 Cor. 13. 2). De Vet. 23. 35.

to dere : ÆHii. 416. 15 he ðe asende his deofellican englas to minre dare. Chron. 237. 5.

to dome : Laws 116. 1 healde hine man to dome (=servetur ad judicandum.

to edleane : Bo. 137. 13 cymð he to edleane his yfla.

to edwite : See *to hospe*. Cf. on edwit (p. 49).

to forwyrd : ÆHi. 240. 5 ðæt hi cunnon hwæt deofol tæchð mannum to forwyrd.

to frofre : Dial. 286. 5 : ÆHi. 374. 20 ic sende minne ðeowan

- Paulum ðe to frofre. LSi. 74. 394: HL. 121. 152. Cf. on frofre (p. 49).
- to fultume: Chron. 13. 15 hy ða sendon hider mare weored ðam oðrum to fultume. Cod. Dip. ii. 120. 28: O. 144. 29; 200. 31; 204. 21: BH. 32. 24; 58. 16; 106. 22: ÆHi. 518. 21: BR. 79. 25 and nineteen other instances. Cf. on fultum (p. 49). Cf. p. 50.
- to gate: Lch. i. 350. 20 to slæpe gate, horn under heafod . . . gecyrreð . . .
- to gebeorge: BH. 44. 18 fæsten worhtan him to gebeorge (=instruere . . . murum qui arcendis hostibus posset esse praesidio. Chron. 10. 24 bred weall ðær on ufon fram sæ to sæ Britwalum to gebeorge. LSii. 112. 678. Cod. Dip. v. 142. 29 (v. p. 45).
- to gefeohte: O. 78. 11 ða Sciððie noldon hiene gesecan to folc-gefehte. OET. 207. 17. 35; 208. 17. 40; 393. 143. 1: O. 54. 13.
- to geleafan: LSi. 112. 375 he his mihte geswutelode mannum to geleafan.
- to hælo: BH. 322. 27 seo ðruh . . . monegum monna . . . wearð to hælo (=loculum . . . nonnullis . . . saluti fuisse perhibent. ÆHii. 214. 15 se ælmihtiga Cyning of ðam cynne asprang Drihten Hælend, ure sawle to hæle. LSi. 86. 599; LSii. 62. 140; 440. 222: Æc. Asm. 25. 19: De Vet. 15. 8: BO. 62. 13. Cf. on haele (p. 49) and v. p. 45.
- to helpe: Gen. 41. 35: Wulf. 82. 16 com us . . . to helpe . . . and to frofre. BO. 72. 22: Cod. Dip. iv. 220. 2 (v. p. 50).
- to hlisan: v. *sub* to lofe.
- to hospe: ÆHi. 568. 28 ðe Syria cyning asende to hospe and to edwite (=misit . . . ut exprobaret.
- to lare: BH. 88. 30: Bo. 137. 13: ÆHi. 186. 20 Moyses hi awrat to steore and to lare ðam ealdan folce. ÆHii. 154. 8: Æc. Asm. 5. 111; 26. 49: Inst. 475 *middle*.
- to lofe: ÆHi. 505. 14 hi ða sona ðær-ofer cyrcan arærdon and weofod ðam heah-engle to lofe . . . ÆHi. 538. 23: ÆHii. 426. 24 se casere ða and his biscopas arærdon

- mære cyrcan ofer heora lichaman to lofe ðam ælmihtigan Gode. LSi. 362. 365; LSii. 374. 305; De Vet. 7. 26; Inst. 412. xiv; Wulf. 195. 6; 277. 12; 279. 25; BO. 55. 5; Chron. 29. 10. Cf. on lof (p. 49). v. p. 52.
- to slæge: ÆHi. 88. 3; LSi. 64. 252 wearð sona asend . . . to ðæs caseres slæge: LSii. 182. 225.
- to steore: ÆHi. 186. 20; Int. Sig. 71 ða sette God æ ðurh Moysen to ege and to steore and to geleafan on God (= ut terror disciplinæ corrigetur . . . et fidem reformaret. Inst. 453. viii; De Vet. 5. 36.
- to ðeowdome: LSii. 332. 257; Inst. 472 *end*, ðe wæron to Godes ðeowdome gehalgode.
- to wrace: ÆHi. 102. 3 hi sind to wrace gesceapene yfeldædum. ÆHii. 538. 29; De Vet. 20. 28.
- to wuldre: Int. Sig. 189 se man soðlice is to wuldre and to herunge his Scyppendes geworht (= homo vero in gloriam et laudem Conditoris sui factus est. ÆHi. 538. 23.
- to wurðmynte: Chron. 29. 10 ðæt hi wolden an mynstr areren Criste to loue and sce Petre to wurðminte. O. 276. 14; ÆHi. 10. 17; 90. 4; 538. 23; LSi. 220. 17; De Vet. 11. 45; 14. 11; Wulf. 88. 18; 277. 12 (v. p. 50).
- to wurðscipe: De Vet. 7. 31 and of gehwiltum landum him comon lac to wurðscipe.

NOTE. Worthy of consideration in this connexion, because fundamental to certain of the prepositional formulæ before the final clause (p. 64), are phrases composed of *to* + the dat. of the demonstrative pronoun, viz. Mk. 1. 38 witodlice *to ðam* ic com (= ut et ibi prædicem et hoc (*sic*) enim veni. L. 4. 43 *to ðam* ic eom asend (= ideo missus sum. Wulf. 242. 21 God us *to ðam* gefultumige.

If the pronoun be the interrogative, the instrumental form is used, viz. Dial. 165. 26 *to hwan* wyllað we on us aleggian . . . ða byrðene? M. 26. 8 *to hwan* ys ðiss forspilled (= ut quid perditio hæc? Id. 26. 50 *to hwan* becom ðu (= ad quod venisti? ÆHii. 432. 14 ðeah ðe ure dæda beon gode geðuhte, *to hwan* magon hi. . . . BlH. 165. 2 *to hwan* eodon ge to westenne—witgan to secenne? Arch. 101. 313. 30 *to hwi* untige gyt ðone assan? HL. 143. 134 *to hwy* synd we . . . acenned?

II. *FOR* IN PHRASES OF FINALITY (70)

*For*, in Old English (like *faúr*, *furi*, *für* in Goth., OHG., Mod. HG. respectively) denotes primarily reason or cause. But since the reason, or motive, of an action considered objectively becomes the end, or purpose, of that action, we find *for* used with the dative to form a phrase of finality. This transition is of course possible only when the noun after *for* is a verbal substantive. In the other Germanic languages, this adaptation of the preposition seems not to occur, save rarely in Modern German. E. g. Niebuhr, *KL. Schr.* 1. 23 England begann die Welt *für Entdeckung* umsegeln zu lassen. Hence it is not of native stock, and indeed is not usual in Old English before the time of Ælfric, as may be seen from the lists below, or from the chart at the end of Part I.

In Middle English, this use of *for*, already exemplified in Old English, and especially in LWS., received an extension by the analogy of the Old French *por*, *pour*, which itself often passed from cause into final meaning (Mätzner, *Fr. Syntax* i. 295; *Engl. Gram.* ii. 458; Einkenel, *Mittelengl. Syntax* 139). From this it has persisted into later English. E. g. Chaucer, Morris's ed. iii. 129 for reverence of his modir Marie. Wright and Halliw., *Rel. Ant.* i. 42 to teche hem curtesie . . . more for the mayntenaunce of pride . . . than for worscipe of God. Scott, *Old Mort.* 2 Frequent musters . . . both for military exercise and for sports . . . were appointed by authority.

In Old English this passing of *for* of cause into *for* of purpose is found, as we have said, most frequently in Ælfric. The case of the noun in the phrase is the dative, though in the prepositional formulæ introducing the clause of purpose (pp. 68 ff.) the instrumental form of the pronoun is not unusual. The two phases of *for* are not always clearly differentiated. They both may exist side by side in one sentence; e. g. ÆHi. 534. 1 he leofode on mynstre *for neode swiðor ðonne for beterulege*. Here the first phrase is causal, and the second final.

Still, it is also evident that *for* could be present in the mind

of the writer with full final force, being joined co-ordinately with a purpose clause. E. g. *ÆHii. 324. 10 ne gesceop se ælmihtiga God men for galnysse, ac ðæt hi gestrynon mid gesceade heora team.*

The dative after *for* in true<sup>1</sup> final phrases is an abstract noun of verbal content (p. 33), accompanied often by an objective genitive (p. 34). Here, as with *to*-phrases (p. 35), we distinguish four categories:

A. *For* + verbal abstracts in *-ing*.

B. " " " *-ung*.

C. " " " *-ness*.

D. *For* + nouns of verbal content, but having no distinctive ending.

A. *For* + verbal substantives in *-ing* forming purpose phrases.  
ræding: *Æc. Asm. 100. 269* and eode him sona ut . . . swilce for rædinge.

rihting: *BR. 9. 10* ic . . . geteæce for gesceades rihtinge and for synne bote (= propter emendationem vitiorum vel conservationem caritatis (v. p. 35).

trymning: *Wulf. 21. 7* sungon *credo in Deum* for trymmince and for mynegunge ðæs soðan geleafan. *Id. 270. 8. Inst. 441. iii. gegaderode he sinoð . . . for ðæs geleafan trymminge. Id. 437, middle gesamnode . . . sinoð . . . for trymminge rihtes geleafan* (v. p. 35).

B. *For* + nouns in *-ung*.

beterung: *ÆHi. 414. 25* seo gesihð him wearð æteowod for oðra manna beterule, na for his agenre.

bysnung: *LSii. 238. 311* for ðæs folces bysnunge . . . he gestaðelode him mynster.

clænsung: *L. 5. 14* and *Mk. 1. 44* bring for ðinre clænsunge

<sup>1</sup> To be distinguished from phrases of purpose, containing a verbal noun, are expressions with *for* denoting merely function. E. g. *BH. 128. 29* ðæt he ealle ða god . . . for mede . . . syllan wolde (= pro mercede. *CP. 318. 4* mon foreode flæsc and win for bisene his broðrum. *Gen. 21. 14* and sealde him for mete hlaf and wæter. *BiH. 23. 34* setton (*sc.* beag of ðornum) on heafod for cynehelme. See foot-notes on pp. 34 and 47. Cf. p. 52, note.

(= *affer pro emundatione*. Arch. 102. 30. 25 soðlice ðær wæron gesette six stænene wæterfatu for clænsunge ðæra Judeiscra manna (v. p. 36).

earnung: BO. 62. 24 him womdæde witan ne ðenceað for earnunge ecan lifes.

getacnung: (with explanatory *ðæt*-clause). ÆHi. 218. 9 and geoffrian ðonne Gode ðone palm for ðære getacnunge. Id. 324. 35 se Hælend ableow his gast on his gingran for ðære getacnunge ðæt hi . . . sceolon lufigan . . . Id. 232. 13: LSii. 70. 64: Int. Sig. 215, 479: De Vet. 24. 5 (v. p. 36).

halgung: Wulf. 219. 33 for ðæs dæges halgunge and weorðunge ða sawla onfoð reste (v. p. 36).

leornung: BH. 168. 28 for leornunge haligra gewreota he wæs . . . in Ibernian wuniende (= *legendarum gratia Scripturarum* . . . *demoratus*).

mynegung: Wulf. 21. 7. V. trymning, *supra*, p. 43.

ðreaung: Int. Sig. 236 ðæt he dyde for ðreaunge, na swylce he nyste, and ðæt Adam understode hwar he ða wæs (= *non utique ignorando quæsivit, sed increpando admonuit ut attenderet ubi esset* (v. p. 37).

weorðung: Wulf. 219. 33. V. halgung, *supra*; cf. p. 37.

C. *For* + nouns in *-ness*.

alysedness: Cod. Dip. iv. 205. 2; 211. 23; 217. 10: Dial. 273. 3; 345. 30; 347. 14; 348. 28: ÆHi. 290. 33 for ure alysednysse Crist geðafode ðæt. Id. 312. 18 seðe . . . wæs geoffrod for ure alysednysse. Id. 382. 11 he astah of heofonum for middangeardes alysednysse. Id. 480. 8: ÆHii. 6. 17; 22. 3; 240. 23; 264. 30; 358. 8; 412. 7: LSii. 30. 446; 170. 13: Æc. Asm. 27. 62: De Vet. 13. 40. Hex. 42. 33: Wulf. 15. 11 he for ealles middaneardes alysednesse . . . mennescnesse underfeng. Id. 21. 23: BO. 72. 15 (v. p. 38).

ehtness: ÆHi. 82. 19 he ealle his efenealdan adylegode for his anes ehtnysse.

gesciældness: CP. 88. 20 *ðæt is ðonne ðæt he fare togeanes Israhela folce . . . for gesciældnesse his heorde.*

trymness: Dial. 259. 12 *asecge for trymnesse manigra manna* (v. p. 39).

D. *For* + nouns of verbal content, but having no formal ending.

Here belong the following final phrases containing nouns of more or less verbal signification.

for bote: BH. 350. 10 *seo ðearlwisnis . . . him . . . of nede becwom for bote his synna* (= *ex necessitate emendendæ suæ pravitatis obvenerat*. BR. 9. 10. V. *sub* rihting, p. 43.

for bearn-teame: Here the first member of the compound word is the equivalent of the usual objective genitive (v. p. 34). *ÆHii. 70. 19 ðe on rihtum sinscipe wuniað, swiðor for bearn-teame ðonne for galnysse.* Id. 94. 13.

for eacan: *ÆHii. 94. 20 ðæt he . . . for folces eacan bearn gestreone.*

for gebeorge: *ÆHi. 40. 32 Maria wæs . . . ðam rihtwisan Iosepe beweddod for micclum gebeorge* (v. p. 40).

for gemynde: Inst. 459. xxxviii. *het us . . . swa don for his gemynde* (v. p. 52).

for gestreone: *ÆHi. 148. 21 ða ðe . . . for bearnes gestreone hæmed begað.*

for gylpe: *ÆHi. 62. 6 ðas gymstanas synd tocwysede for ydelum gylpe,* = 'that they may boast.'

for hæle: Dial. 329. 25 *læcas comon for his lichaman hæle.* LSi. 32. 140 *ða bead ses wydewe ðam mædene sceattas for hyre hæle.* LSii. 194. 63: BII. 73. 7 *he his blod ageat for ure hæle.* Id. 97. 10. (v. pp. 40, 49).

for hælðe: *ÆHi. 462. 23 ac ðonne hi for heora lichaman hælðe us offriað.* *ÆHii. 396. 20 ðæt folc andbidode ðry dagas mid ðam Hælende for hælðe heora untrumra.* Id. 484. 11 *we comon for manna hælðe hider.*

for ware: LSii. 112. 675 *ne synd swa-ðeah awritene, ðæs ðe wyrdwriteras sæcgað, ealle Judan gefeoht for his freonda ware.*

NOTE 1. In BH. occur five instances of *for* + the dative of *intinga*, translating the Latin *causa, gratia* in phrases of purpose. Whatever be the etymological connexion of *intinga*—whether with Koch (*Eng. Gram.* ii. 376) we ally it with 'tīhan, ziehen, daher Bezüchtigung,' or whether with Grimm (*Gram.* ii. 355) we think of it as <-*binga* = *ding*—still this is true that the word is the close equivalent of *causa*. See BH. 52. 20; 78. 3; 82. 17, 19; 172. 15; 230. 28. But considered objectively cause, or motive, becomes the end of action; and hence *for* + *intingan* + a restrictive genitive of a verbal noun may pass into final signification, as does *for* + the verbal noun. Indeed, the purport of the two constructions is the same (see BH. 242. 1 quoted below). However the phrase with *intingan*, exemplified only a few times in Bede alone of all Old English, must be considered unidiomatic, as only a clumsy individual attempt to translate literally the similarly formed Latin phrase, *causa, gratia* + the genitive. V. p. 72, note 2.

The occurrences of this are: BH. 194. 26 *ðær æfter fæce for intingan clensunge* ðisses manes wæs mynster getimbred (= castigandi hujus facinoris gratia monasterium constructum est. Id. 242. 1 *ðider gewiton sume for godcundre leornunge*, sume *for intingan forhebbendran lifes* (= vel divinæ lectionis vel continentionis vitæ gratia. Id. 270. 16 *cwom to him of Breotone fore neosunge intingan se halgesta wer* (= cum ergo veniret ad eum gratia visitationis de Britannia vir sanctissimus. V. *infra*. Add id. 386. 20.

In one instance the genitive of the verbal noun is replaced by the prepositional infin., viz. BH. 82. 18 *seo gemengnes ðæs flæsces seo for intingan bearna to cennenne* (= creandorum liberorum sit gratia.

NOTE 2. The prepositional formulæ with *for* (for ðon ðæt, for ðy ðæt, for ðæm ðæt, &c.) belong logically under the heading of *phrases* of purpose, as well. See p. 68.

### Supplementary.

#### Fore + the Dative in Phrases of Purpose (3).

Three times in BH., *fore*, the doublet of *for* (Wülfiŋ, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 354), occurs with final meaning, viz.

BH. 326. 31 *fore alysnesse his sawle gelomlice mæssesong dyde* (= pro absolutione animæ ejus saepius missas facere curavit. Id. 330. 16 *ond monige men wæron bærnðe in geleafan and in arfæstnisse willan to gebiddenne ge ælmeſsan to sellenne, ge Gode asægdnesse to beranne ðæs halgan laces, fore generated-nisse heora freonda* (= accensi sunt in fide ac devotione pietatis ad orandum vel ad eleemosynas faciendas, vel ad offerendas Domino victimas sacræ oblationis pro ereptione suorum. Id. 226. 14 *Cedd ham ferde and cwom to his cirican to Lindisfarena*

*ea fore sprece* Finano ðæs biscopes (= propter colloquium. (This last is perhaps only doubtfully final.)

### III. *ON* + THE ACCUSATIVE AND THE DATIVE IN PHRASES OF PURPOSE (68)

*On*, like *to*, denoting motion toward, tendency, may by a simple metaphorical extension express that to which the action of a verb is directed. Hence arise phrases of finality with *on* (cf. p. 75).

This use of the preposition seems to be confined to the Low German family, and even here it is not nearly so general as the parallel construction with *to*. The Gothic *ana* and the later High German *an* do not show this function; but traces of it appear in Old Saxon, Old English, and Modern English. E.g. *Heliand* 4412 *so hwat so gi dadun . . . an iuwes drohtines namon, godes fargavun an Godes era them mannum the her minniston sindun*. Also *Hel.* 672; and add the phrases *sendian (faran) an arundi, cuman on gebodsepi*.

In Modern English, *on* expressing finality is even rarer than in Old English, having yielded to *in*, which under the influence of the French *en* in this sense, grew upward from a few scattered imitations of the Latin in BH. into an established Middle English and Modern English idiom (v. p. 51). Cf. Chaucer's 'as he on huntyng rood,' and the Mod. Eng., 'I came on purpose to tell you.'

In Old English, *on* stands immediately after *for* in relative frequency of occurrence, *to* being, as we have seen, the most generally used. Unlike *to* and *for*, it is followed by two cases, the dative and the accusative, the former being the rule after the neuter verbs *beon* and *weorðan*. As was true of *to* and *for*, the noun following *on* is one of verbal content<sup>1</sup>, or a pronoun

<sup>1</sup> To be differentiated from purpose phrases are those expressing merely office or function, e.g. *Laws* 58. 26 *ðeah hwa gebycgge his dohtor on ðeo-wenne* (= si quis vendiderit filiam suam in famulam. Cf. BH. 382. 16 *ða genamon hi sumne ðæl his seaxes him to reliquium ðæt hie mihton heora bid-dendum freondum syllan, oððe æteawan in tacon ðæs wundres*. See foot-notes on pp. 34 and 43. Cf. p. 52, note.

representing such a noun. E.g. BH. 466. 10 *on heora weorðunge* wibedes sette and porticas worhte and todealde *on ðæt sylfe* binnan ðære ylcan cyricean weallum.

Therefore we have these divisions:

A. *On* + the Accusative.

B. *On* + the Dative after the neuter words, *beon* and *weorðan*.

A. *On* + the Accusative (43).

On the same principle of division used with the two preceding prepositions, we have:

1. *On* + verbal abstracts in *-ung*.

2. " " " *-ness*.

3. *On* + nouns of verbal content having no formal ending.

1. *On* + nouns in *-ung*.

hergung: O. 138. 7 *gewealdenne* here . . . sendon an hergiunge and ðæt folc to amierrenne (= ad populandos hostiles agros . . . præmissis).

weorðung: BH. 466. 11 *on heora weorðunge* wibedes sette and porticas worhte. (An example from the poetry is: Gen. 1452 *let fleogan culufan on fandunga*.)

2. *On* + nouns in *-ness*.

forgyfenness: ÆHi. 352. 11 and bodade . . . fulluht *on synna forgyfenysse* (= prædicans baptismum pœnitentiæ in remissionem peccatorum. ÆHii. 244. 15; 268. 1 (v. p. 38).

(ge)witness: M. 24. 14 and ðis godspel byð bodod ofer ealle eorðan *on gewittnysses eallum ðeodum* (= in testimonium. Mk. 6. 11 *asceacað ðæt dust of eowrum fotum him on gewitnesse* (= in testimonium. L. 9. 5 (v. pp. 38, 50).

3. *On* + verbal nouns with no formal ending.

on ærende: Bo. 63. 15 *gif hwelc swiðe rice mon . . . on his hlaforðes ærende færð*. Id. 136. 25 *he sent ealla gesceafta on his ærendo*.

- on bismær: O. 234. 22 ða sende him mon ane blace hacelan  
angean him on bismær. CP. 45. 8 hine mon scyle on  
bismær hatan se anscoða. Id. 261. 17 ða ða him mon on  
bismær to gebæd. Laws 90. 3.
- on edwit: BH. 438. 9 ðylæs him ætwite and on edwit sette his  
geðoftan (= ne exprobrarent sibi sodales (v. p. 39).
- on frofre: BIH. 203. 21, 26. See the next phrase (v. p. 40).
- on fultum: PPs. 17. 9 and astah me on fultum. Id. 33,  
*heading*, him God sende his godcundne engel on his fultum.  
O. 68. 13 Tarcuinius . . . aspon Tuscea cyning him on  
fultum. Id. 82. 9; 90. 7; 96. 5; 106. 3; 110. 8; 112.  
2: BH. 50. 14; 356. 24: BIH. 203. 21 engel . . . cwom  
on fultum and on frofre. Id. 203. 26 (v. pp. 40, 50).
- on hælo: CP. 399. 25 he cwæð ðæt hio wære swiðe neah and  
ðeah genoh fæst on his hælo (= et tamen ad salutem tuta  
perhibetur (v. pp. 40, 45).
- on hergoð: Rolls Chron. 168. 23 (MSS. abcd) and eft oðre  
siðe he wæs on hergoð gelend on ðæt ilce rice. Id. 234.  
14 (MS. c) and woldon ða faran on hergoð on ðæt Cristene  
folc.
- on reste: Mart. 34. 28 com to us on ece reste.
- on ðearfe: CP. 232. 7 ðæs muðes tunge sceal faran on ðara  
earana ðearfe (= ad usum suum auribus oris lingua con-  
currat.
- on wrixle: CP. 341. 18 ðonne sculon hie eft niedenga gadrian  
oðer ierfe on ðæs wriexle ðe hie ær . . . sealdon. (Belden,  
*Prepositions in A. S. Prose*, p. 32, takes *wriexle* here as  
dat.)
- on wurðmynte: ÆHi. 74. 10 (hi) arærdon Gode mære cyrcan  
on ðæs apostoles wurðmynte (v. p. 41).

NOTE 1. An example from the poetry is: Gen. 1665 to faran on land-  
socne.

NOTE 2. For instances of pronouns representing verbal abstracts in pur-  
pose phrases, cf. BH. 466. 10 and on heora weorðunge wibedas sette and  
porticas worhte and toðælde *on ðæt sylfe*. Laws 80. 15 mid LX scill. gebete  
ðam byrgean and ðæt sie on cwicæhtum feogodum, and mon nænigne mon  
*on ðæt* ne selle.

NOTE 3. *Gerad* in the sense of 'purpose' occurs, O. 236. 8 *ða Silla geacsade on hwelc gerad Marius com to Rome*. See also *on ða gerad ðæt*, introducing a purpose clause (p. 76, note).

B. *On* + the Dative after *Beon* and *Weorðan* (31).

Here purpose is often very hard to differentiate from the mere expression of function (v. p. 47, foot-note).

on byrgene: Mk. 14. 8 *heo com to smyrianne minne lichaman on byrgene*.

on fultume: PPs. 15. 8 *he bið simle on minum fultume*. O. 90. 11 *Darius . . . Læcedemonium on fultume wearð wið ðæm Athenienses*. Id. 196. 7 *he wende ðæt hie wolden Hannibale on fultume beon*. O. 48. 24; 74. 31; 78. 22; 98. 20; 112. 22; 144. 26; 162. 11; 196. 7; 200. 10; 208. 7, 10; 220. 4; 236. 15, 22; 238. 7; 240. 5: BH. 46. 29; 236. 8: Sol. 55. 6 *uton gelyfan ðæt God sie on uncrum fultume*. *ÆHi*. 510. 16: BH. 203. 1; 209. 25. (v. pp. 40, 49).

on fylste: O. 52. 5 *ealle ða ðe he ondred ðæt him on fylste beon woldon*.

on gewitnesse: O. 114. 18 *ðæt he hie ymb ðæt rice gesemde and on ðære gewitnesse wære ðæt hit emne gedæled wære* (v. pp. 38, 48).

on helpe: Sol. 68. 24 *hy ær on nanre helpe neron, naðer ne heom sylfum ne heora freondum* (v. p. 40).

on stale: O. 232. 23 *ðeh ðe hie mid ðære wrace ðæm adræfdan on nanum stale beon ne mehton*.

on ðenunge: BH. 420. 7 *ða broðor ða ðe in Fresum weran mid hine on ðere ðegnunge ðes Godes wordes (= qui erant in Frisia verbi ministerio mancipati* (v. p. 37).

NOTE. For a pronoun representing a verbal idea in a phrase of purpose, cf. John 18. 37 *on ðam ic eom geboren and to ðam ic com . . .*

#### IV. *IN* + THE ACCUSATIVE IN PHRASES OF FINALITY (7)

Much rarer than *on* do we find its doublet, *in*, forming phrases of purpose. For a discussion of the relation of these two prepositions one to another, see Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 383 and the articles there referred to. From these sources the facts for our purpose seem to be as follows:

1. *In*, for *on*, is characteristic of the earlier period of Old English and is met most frequently in the translations, where the Latin *in* may have exerted an influence. (Too much, we think, must not be attributed to this, for the poetry, which may reasonably be considered free from direct Latin contamination, exemplifies such an *in*. E.g. Exod. 296 he up arærde reade streamas in randgebeorh; Guth. 459 setton me in edwit ðæt ic. . . .)

2. *In* is very rare in LWS., *on* being used instead.

3. In Middle English, by analogy of the Old French *en*, which often had final meaning (cf. *Chev. au Lion* 260 *Aprés ce me pria, gié par son ostel m'an revenisse, an guerredon se je poïsse*), *in* began to be used again; so that by the time of Chaucer we find it in many phrases of finality or function. E.g. in *guerdon of*, in *gré*, in *laude*, in *honour of*, in *despyt*. Cf. Chaucer, Morris's ed. iii. 124 and *is this songe imaad in reverence of Cristes moder*. Modern English has extended this yet farther, showing such phrases as: *in aid of*, *in recompense*, *in memory of*, *in return*, *in denial*, *in search (quest) of*, *in witness*, *in answer*. Cf. Cooper, *The Spy*, p. 5 *He despatched Captain Lawton in pursuit of the pedler*. See Einenkel, *Mittelengl. Syntax* 151, and Mätzner, *Engl. Gram.* ii. 375.

Hence we may expect to find final phrases with *in* belonging to the earlier writings, which come into contact directly with Latin originals. That this is the case appears from the occurrences immediately below.

in cyðnisse: Lind. and Rush. version of *on gewilnesse* in Mk. 6. 11. See *on gewilnesse*, p. 50.

in gemynd: BH. 204. 26 *ða ilcan studu . . . in gemynd ðæs wundes in ða ciricon setton* (= in *memoriam miraculi* (v. p. 45).

in hernesse: BH. 344. 5 *ða ongon he sona singan in herenesse Godes scyppendes ða fers and ða word* (= in *laudem Dei Conditoris*. Id. 348. 22 *seo tunge ðe swa monig halwende word in ðæs Scyppendes lof gesette—he ða swelce eac ða ytmæstan word in his herenisse . . . betynde* (v. p. 38).

in lof: See the sentence immediately preceding (v. p. 41).

NOTE. The instances of *in* with the acc. forming phrases that express function are:

in tacon: BH. 382. 17 *ðæt hie mihton . . . æteawan in tacon ðæs wundes*.

in ege: BH. 258. 20 *wæron her stronge cyningas ond wel cristne ond eallum ellreordum cynnum ut in miclum ege* (= *barbaris nationibus essent terrori*.

in sette: BH. 478. 27 *seo stow neowan gemonigfealdedum geleafsumum folcum in sette bisceopstoles wæs toæted* (= in *sedem pontificatus addita*. Cf. Belden, *Prepositions in A. S. Prose*, p. 19. See foot-notes on pp. 34, 43, 47.

## V. *YMBE* + THE ACCUSATIVE EXPRESSING PURPOSE (6)

*Ymbe*, denoting that with reference to which an action takes place, passes by a process similar to that discussed under *for* (p. 42) from causal into final function. Cf. the German *um zu* + the infinitive, and note the introductory formula, *ymb ðæt . . . hu* (p. 89, note).

The occurrences of this preposition in phrases closely approximating purpose are: Laws 66. 1 *ða gesomnodon we us ymb ðæt*. Schmid translates, 'da versammelten wir uns deshalb.' O. 142. 1 *ða sendon Romane ærendračan to Gallium ymbe frið* (= *Romani ad exorandos Gallos misere legatos*. BH. 96. 5 *ðæt he swa geornfulle gymenne dyde ymb ða hælo ure*

ðeode (= tam sedulam erga salutem nostræ gentis curam gesserit. CP. 48. 23 gif he ymb ðæt geornlice swunce. Id. 168. 3 on him sie uparæred se cræft ðære giemenne ymbe ða foresceawunga ðæs hefonlican lifes (=vim sollicitudinis et erga cœlestem vitam providæ circumspectionis. *ÆHii.* 380. 22 Herodes cyning wolde . . . geswencan sume of ðære gelaðunge and sende werod *ymbe ðæt* (= misit H. rex manus *ut affligeret* quosdam de ecclesia (Acts 12. 1).

#### VI. *ÆFTER* + THE DATIVE IN PHRASES CLOSELY ALLIED TO PURPOSE (4)

This phrase is found a few times in Old English after verbs of motion, denoting the end of motion. This desired end, being conceived as motive, or incentive, of action, thus passes into a purpose relation to the main verb. Cf. Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 308. See p. 89, note.

The instances of this are: O. 154. 22 ða sendon Tarentine ægwern æfter fultume. Id. 160. 2 sendon hi . . . æfter fultume. Repeated, id. 170. 20; 174. 27. Id. 182. 9 ða sendon hie . . . ærendracan . . . æfter friðe. Id. 260. 9 he self æfter gewinne for, and nan findan ne mehte.

NOTE. To be added is perhaps O. 136. 26 ðæt hie hiene æfter friðe sohton. 'Wegen des Friedens,' says Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 308: also, 'doppelte Fügung: sie suchten ihn, und sie suchten nach dem Frieden.'

# GENERAL VIEW OF THE PURPOSE PHRASE.

	OET.	Chron.	Cod. Dip.	Laws.	PPs.	O.	BH.	Bo.	Sol.	CP.	Dial.	M.	Mk.	L.	John	Guth.	Mart.	Lch. ii.	Lch. iii.	Lch. i.	AEH. i.	AEH. iii.	De Temp.	Gram.	IS. i. & ii.	Int. Sig.	Hept.	Ec. Asm. & Th.	De Vet. & Pref.	Hex.	Coll.	Neot.	Inst.	BH.	Wulf.	HL.	BR.	BO.	Ap. T.	Nic.			
simple infin.	2	—	—	—	—	1	9	—	—	3	5	2	9	2	2	—	2	70	8	17	2	2	—	—	—	1	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
preposit. infin.	15	10	14	12	6	15	68	10	—	—	—	—	10	8	13	1	3	24	—	18	27	37	—	—	—	1	39	4	35	10	4	1	—	—	1	2	11	8	5	—	4	—	—
for to + infin. inf.	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
with to + infin. inf.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
to + uninf. inf.	—	1	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
prep. omitted	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
to + inf. in -ude	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
pres. part.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
to-phrases	3	6	11	5	4	21	13	2	1	2	18	3	1	2	1	1	1	—	1	2	30	16	—	—	—	24	2	5	8	13	5	—	—	3	6	10	3	1	4	2	—	—	
for-phrases	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	5	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	10	—	—	—	9	2	1	4	3	1	—	—	1	3	5	—	—	2	—	—	—	
for intigan	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
for = for	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
on-phrases	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
in-phrases	2	—	1	2	8	10	2	5	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ymb-phrases	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
after-phrases	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> Northumbrian.

## PART II

# THE PURPOSE CLAUSE

### INTRODUCTION

It will be seen in the sections following that the purpose clause in some of its exemplifications lies close to causal clauses, adjective relative clauses, object clauses with *hu* and *hwæðer* after certain verbs, and, finally, to clauses of result and condition. Of course in such cases the personal equation cannot have been altogether eliminated in deciding upon the presence of purpose intent; but as a rule this function has been evident enough, I think, not to vitiate any conclusions that follow.

I have been guided by Wülfig (*Ælf. Syntax* ii. 155), as opposed to Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* ii. 136 and *Syntax des Olfrids* i. 277), to exclude as containing object clauses, rather than clauses of purpose, those sentences in which 'der Hauptsatz bereits eine Absicht andeutet, und der Nebensatz als ergänzende Ausführung dieser Andeutung erscheint,' that is in sentences whose main verb belongs to one of the following categories:

1. Wishing, hoping, asking, imploring, seeking, beginning, &c. E. g. *biddan*, *halsian*, *wenan*, *willan*, *wenian*, *wyscan*, *secan*, *onginnan*, &c.

2. Exhorting, warning, teaching, &c. E. g. *manian*, *myngian*, *læran*, *tæcan*, &c.

3. Commanding. E. g. *(be)beodan*, &c.

4. Granting, promising, permitting, forbidding, &c. E. g. *unнан*, *forgiefan*, *gehatan*, *alyfan*, *lætan*, *geðafian*, *forbeodan*, &c.

5. Fear, hesitation and expressions of caution. E. g. *(on)drædan*, *(for)wandian*, *gieman*, *gemynan*, *gemyndig beon*, *behealdan*, *wær beon*, *warnian*, &c.

As stated above, I have usually excluded as object clauses

those after the verbs just named. I have not, however, allowed myself to be bound by strict verb-lists, since the same main clause may be followed now by a clause of purpose, now by an object clause, according to the context. For it must be remembered that a subordinate element of finality may come with all freedom after any verbal idea whatsoever not logically incompatible, so that the attempt to classify purpose clauses according to the verbs they depend upon would be both useless and futile.

However, as is natural, they occur most frequently after words of outward, objective activity (e.g. verbs of motion: (*a*)*sendan*, *arisan*, *astigan*, *secan*, *bringan*, *gesomnian*, *efstan*, *gewendan*, &c.), and much less often after a main clause of subjective intent, expressing a mental attitude or denoting mere predication.

A general view of the ratio of clauses that follow verbs of objective intent to those after expressions of subjective intent will be seen in the scheme below. Four texts, only, taken as representative, are included, since the others do not differ essentially from these in this respect. In the right-hand column are placed for the sake of comparison prepositional infinitives of purpose, which we have already seen may be regarded as abbreviated clauses (see p. 2).

	Main clause	No. of final clauses	No. of prep. infin.
BH.	{ objective	64	54
	{ subjective	0	8
Oros.	{ objective	74	12
	{ subjective	4	1
ÆHii.	{ objective	93	31
	{ subjective	24	3
Hept.	{ objective	111	28
	{ subjective	16	8

NOTE. Sometimes the main verb is to be supplied after ellipsis; e.g. John 1. 22 hwæt eart ðu, ðæt we andwyrde bringon (= quis es, ut responsum demus? id. 9. 36 hwylc is drihten, ðæt ic on hine gelyfe (= quis est domine (*sic*), ut credam in eum?

The Purpose Clause will be discussed under the following chapters :

Chapter I. The Connectives of the Purpose Clause.

Chapter II. The Mode of the Purpose Clause.

Chapter III. The Tense of the Purpose Clause.

## CHAPTER I

### THE CONNECTIVES OF THE PURPOSE CLAUSE

THE Old English final clause is always joined to the main clause by an introductory word or formula, which has the function of an adverbial conjunction of purpose. This is never omitted, as sometimes occurs in Otfrid, for example. See Erdmann, *Deutsche Syntax* i. 137, quoting Ot. ii. 2. 12 *er quam, sie manoti* = *er kam, damit er sie ermahnete*.

Of the various words and formulæ found in Old English joining purpose clauses, we make eight categories, six for the positive and two for the negative clause. These may be arranged as follows, which order will prevail throughout the succeeding study of each division.

A. The Positive Clause. The clause is introduced by :

I. *Ðæt* (*ðet*, *ðat*) and, more rarely, *ðætte*.

II. The compound prepositional formulæ, composed of a preposition (*to*, *for*, *wið*, *be*, *on*, *embe*) + a pronominal object + *ðæt*. E. g. *to ðy ðæt*, *for ðæm ðæt*, &c.

III. The relative pronoun : relative adjective clauses of purpose.

IV. The interrogatives, *hu* and *hwæðer* : indirect interrogative object clauses of purpose.

V. Result and conditional conjunctions, shading into purpose function.

## VI. Paratactic clauses of final intent.

## B. The Negative Clause.

I. Introduced as the positive clause above and negated by the particle *ne* (*na*), which stands always immediately before the finite verb in the clause.

II. Introduced and at the same time negated by the combination *ðy læs* or *ðy læs ðe*.

# I. FINAL CLAUSES INTRODUCED BY *ÐÆT* AND *ÐÆTTE*

A. *Ðæt*.

The Old English *ðæt*, like the Gothic *thatei* (*that* + *ei*) and the High German *daz* (*dass*), Old Saxon *that*, originally a pronominal neuter accusative used with relative force as a conjunction, is very frequent before substantive, consecutive, causal, and final clauses.

For the last, it is the usual conjunction in unemphatic expression of a purpose. As may be seen from the chart in Appendix I, out of 3,000 clauses expressive of finality, the simple *ðæt* introduces 2,463. Of these, 298 are negative in meaning and will find later treatment (v. p. 93). Examples are not needed to illustrate the particle, though an index-list will be found in Appendix II.

NOTE. The rarer spellings, *ðet* and *ðat*, have been noted as follows:

*ðet*: OET. 197, Vesp. Ps. 9. 29 Siteð in Searwum . . . ðet he ofsle ðone unscyldgan (= sedet in insidiis . . . ut interficiat innocentem. Chron. 174. 27 (1048 A.D.) gyrnde he griðes and gisla ðet he moste unswican into gemote cuman. Cf. to ðan ðet, Chron. 172. 6 (cf. p. 65, note 1).

The late spelling *ðat* occurs in the Winteneý Version of BR. 13. 10. This version belongs to the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Schröder, ed. p. ix). The earlier 'Common' version (circa 961 A.D.) shows *ðæt* in the same passage.

In a few instances, *ðæt* is repeated for clearness' sake after an interjected element out of its natural order, viz.

BH. 270. 2 forðon us gedafenað ðæt we his heofonlicre

monunge mid gedefenlice ege and lufan ondswareige; *ðætte*, swa he lyft onstyrge ond his hond swa swa us to sleanne beotiende æteaweð, ne hwæðre nu gyt slæð, *ðæt* we sona cleopien and bidden his mildheortnesse.

CP. 96. 23 sie he . . . upaðened . . . *ðætte* ðurh ða mildheortnesse his arfæstnesse *ðæt* he teo on hiene selfne oðerra monna scylda . . . and *ðætte* he swæ healicra ðinga wilnigende ne forso his nihstan untrume.

Hex. 24. 13 næs na se deað ðurh drihten gesceapen . . . ac hit wæs swa ðeah, *ðæt*, gif he tobræc *ðæt* litle bebod, *ðæt* he wære syððan sona deadlic. Also BO. 55. 1. Cf. to ðon *ðætte* . . . *ðætte* BH. 288. 7 (v. p. 65, n. 1).

NOTE. Three times a clause with *ðæt* is intensified by the instrumental *ðy*, used demonstratively and expressing purpose. Dial. 153. 26 ac *ðæt* se man mage swa fela of eorðan gefremman, *ðy* com to eorðan of heofonum se scyppend. *ÆHi.* 248. 27 *ði* he elcað *ðæt* we sceolon beon oflyste. Id. 456. 13 and *ði* he com to ðyssere scire *ðæt* he aidlige ealle ða hæðengyld. Here it is possible to conceive of the *ðæt*-clause as substantive and explanatory of *ðy* used adverbially with final force.

The following sentence from Schmid's second edition (1858) of the Laws would seem to exemplify the simple instrumental *ði* used relatively to introduce a clause of purpose: Laws 194. 33 (Eadgar, 959-975 A.D.) ic and mine ðegnas wyldan ure preostas to ðan, ðe ure saula hyrdas us tæcað, *ðæt* syndon ure bisceopas, . . . *ði* we . . . *ðæt* ece lif geearnian. However, since such a use is unsupported by further illustration, and since Liebermann's edition of the Laws (p. 208) has *ðæt* (from *þ*) as the reading of both MSS. C. and F., which Schmid professes to follow, I am inclined to think that the latter, in writing *ði*, is in error. It is interesting to see that Schmid's first edition (1832), p. 104, has correctly *ðæt*.

#### B. *Ðætte* (*ðæt* + *ðe*).

Instead of *ðæt* introducing the purpose clause, we find in the earlier writings several occurrences of the form *ðætte*. This form for *ðæt* is not peculiar to purpose clauses alone. See, for example, *ðætte* introducing substantive clauses: *BiH.* 27. 1, 23; 41. 34; 53. 27; 61. 8; 77. 17; 87. 5. But only its use in the purpose clause has been considered, a fact to be borne in mind with reference to whatever follows.

*Ðætte* consists, of course, of *ðæt* + the relative particle *ðe*, as

may be seen in the uncontracted form *ðæt ðe*. E.g. OET. 284. Vesp. Ps. 70. 3 *bio ðu me in God geschildend and stowe getrymede, ðæt ðe (wi) halne mec gedo* (= *esto mihi in Deum protectorem et in locum munium ut saluum me facias*. And also before a substantive clause: CP. 105. 1 *Eac was ðæt ðe beforan ðam temple stod creat*.

This addition to *ðæt* of the relative particle *ðe* finds a parallel in the common Gothic purpose particle *thatai* = *that* + *ei* (cf. Brugmann, *Vergl. Gram.* ii. 24, 771 and 777) and also in the less common *thai* = *thai*, < *thatai*, + *ei*. (See *P. Br. Beitr.* 4. 467 and 6. 402, and *ZfdAkk.* 29. 366.) E.g. John 6. 7 *twaim handum skame blaibos ni ganoðai sind thaim, thai nimai wharyriuh leitil*. Also John 6. 12; 13. 24; 16. 33: *u* Cor. 2. 4. But for Old English, as we have said, the added relative particle is *ðe*, which here merits a somewhat extended discussion. (See pp. 95 ff.)

*ðe* is most commonly seen as a relative pronoun, a use so common as to need no exemplification here. Secondly, it is found with relative adverbial force: e.g. CP. 391. 12 *ðonon ðe hi utan bioð ahæfene, ðanon hie bioð innan afeallene*. Thirdly, it occurs introducing substantive clauses: e.g. O. 142. 13 *hit is, cwæð he, ðæm gelicost, ðonne ic his geðencean sceal, ðe ic sitte on anre heare dune and geseo*. Also Beow. 1334, 2468 and Elene 984. Finally, introducing adverbial clauses: e.g. Beow. 1436 *he wæs sundes ðe sænra, ðe hyne swylt fornam*<sup>1</sup>. PPs. 143. 4 *hwæt is se manna ðe ðu him cyððan woldest*. O. 148. 32 *he wolde ðæt ða folc him ðy swyðor tobuqe, ðe he hæfde hiera ealdhlafordes sunu on his gewælde*. Id. 150. 31 *hie ða ðæt gewinn ðæs licost angunnan, ðe hi hit ær ne angunnen*.

From these sentences we can see how the transition of *ðe* into clauses of purpose would be easy; and, though I have found no instance in Old English prose, it has been met by accident once in the poetry: Beow. 241 *ic wæs ende-sæta, æg-wearde*

<sup>1</sup> Wyatt, *Ed. Beow.* (Cambridge, 1894), pp. 226, 227, marks the vowel of *ðe* long, considering it probably as an instrumental form.

heold, ðe on land Dene laðra nænig mid scip-herge sceððan ne meakte. See also Furkert, *Syntax des 'Guthlac'*, p. 27.

Therefore the relative *ðe* standing alone as a final particle is not found in Old English prose. However, in the combination mentioned above, *ðætte* (*ðæt* + *ðe*) is not infrequently in the earlier texts used as a conjunction of purpose, occurring as follows: OET. 203. Vesp. Ps. 16. 4; 235. 36. 8; 284. 70. 3: Laws (Ine) 20. 7: O. 46. 3; 64. 11; 148. 8: BH. 76. 26; 98. 2; 128. 26; 182. 33; 204. 28; 270. 3; 350. 22: CP. 76. 12; 86. 6; 102. 21; 104. 3; 218. 7; 228. 3; 274. 18; 303. 19; 309. 6; 312. 19; 364. 16: Lch. ii. 208. 7; 234. 10: BlH. 233. 36: Total = 28.

To this total of twenty-eight may be added fifteen instances in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, where the Northumbrian<sup>1</sup> versions agree in using *ðætte* for the form *ðæt* of the WS. version. They are: M. 22. 11; L. 12. 1: 21. 34; 22. 6: John 5. 14; 6. 38; 7. 32; 8. 6, 59; 10. 10; 11. 53, 55, 57; 12. 10, 42.

NOTE. Cf. to *ðon ðætte* BH. 74. 8; 288. 8: to *ðon ðati* (p. 65) Cod. Dip. i. 114. 15; also for *ðæm ðætte* (p. 72) CP. 32. 23; 76. 10; 146. 6; 220. 22; 356. 6.

From this it is easy to see that the form *ðætte*, at least in purpose clauses, is early usage. Ælfred, for example, has about twenty-five instances of this, while in Ælfric we find not one—which is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that *ðy læs ðe*, a form with the appended relative *ðe*, does not occur at all in Ælfred, while in Ælfric this is the rule (pp. 94 ff.).

Rhetorically considered, *ðætte* seems to be used to introduce a clause with more emphasis than does the simple *ðæt*. Hence, especially in the long and involved periods of the Bede and the

<sup>1</sup> In the Lind. Gloss *ðætte* is the prevailing form for all clauses, translating *ut, quia, quod, quoniam, quando*. The ratio of *ðæt* to *ðætte*, all uses included, appears from the following figures taken from Cook's *Glossary of Lind. Gos.* (Halle, 1894):

*ðæt*, M. = 75; Mk. = 35; L. = 19; John = 23.

*ðætte*, M. = 38; Mk. = 142; L. = 310; John = 351.

Pastoral Care, *ðætte* may have been originally chosen as being more strongly conjunctival in character. On this principle we notice *ðætte* introducing,

A. A complex or involved purpose clause.

B. A purpose clause following a complex or involved main clause.

Some examples follow.

A. *ðætte* + complex clause.

CP. 86. 6 *ðæt tacnað ðætte eal ða god and ða mægenu ðe he do bion gewlitageode mid ðære lufan Godes and monna beforan ðæm eagum ðæs ecean Deman, ðætte se spearca ðara godra weorca, ðe her twinclað beforan monnum, . . . birne healice ligge . . .*

CP. 274. 17 *forðæm is gesceadwislice to ðenceanne hwelcum tidum him gecopust sie to spreccanne, ðætte, ðonne ðonne he spreccan wille, he his tungan gehealde . . .*

CP. 303. 17 *sua mon sceal on ðæm upahæfenum monnum ðone fruman and ðone ingong ðære ðreatunga and ðære tælinge gemetgian, and wið heringe gemengan, ðætte hie for ðære licunga ðære heringe and ðære olicunga ðe hie lufigeað, eac geðafigen ða tælinge and ða ðreaunga ðe hie onscuniað. Add BH. 270. 2 : CP. 102. 21 ; 104. 3 ; 136. 22 : O. 46. 2 ; 148. 7.*

B. Complex main clause + *ðætte*-clause.

Laws 20. 1 *ic Ine . . . wæs smeagende be ðære hælo urra sawla and be ðam staðole ures rices ðatte ryht æw and ryhte cynedomas ðurh ure folc gefæstnode and getrymede wæron, ðatte nænig ealdormonna ne us undergeðeodedra æfter ðæm wære awendende ðas ure domas.*

BH. 204. 26 *and ða ilcan studu nales swa swa ær uton togesetton to trymnesse ðæs huses, ac in gemynd ðæs wundres in ða ciricon setton ðætte ða ingongendan ðær heora cneo beegan scolden . . .*

CP. 312. 17 *ongean ðæt sint to manianne ða fæstendan ðæt hie huru geornlice giemen, ðær ðær hie fleoð ðone unðeaw ðære gifernesse, ðætte of ðæm gode ne weorðe wierse yfel*

acenned, ðætte, ðonne ðonne ðæt flæsc hlænað ðæt mod ne beræse on ungeðyld. Add BH. 98. 1; 128. 25; CP. 182. 4; 218. 7; 364. 17; 389. 6.

In the other instances, *ðætte* is not to be categorically differentiated from *ðæt*; hence, in conclusion, to sum up what has been said of *ðætte* introducing a final clause, we have:

1. *ðætte* is found only in Northumbrian and in early West Saxon.

2. Rhetorically considered, it is more emphatically conjunctive than *ðæt*, though often not to be definitely distinguished from it (v. pp. 67, 72).

## II. THE PREPOSITIONAL FORMULÆ

Next in order of frequency after *ðæt*, occur purpose clauses introduced by a compound formula (e.g. *to ðæm ðæt, for ðon ðæt*), composed of a preposition + object + *ðæt*. Here the purport of purpose lies in the preposition, which with its object forms a *phrase* of finality; while the *ðæt* introduces what, strictly analyzed, is a substantive clause explanatory of this object.

In these formulæ, the word immediately following the preposition is almost always in Old English a demonstrative pronominal: e.g. PPs. 9. 13 *ðe me uppahofe fram deaðes gatum to ðam ðæt ic bodade eall ðin lof* (= *exaltas . . . ut annuntiem*). However, rarely a noun may be in the place of the usual pronominal object, as in the Modern English *to the intent that, for the purpose that, in order that*. Cf. also the German *in der Absicht dass*. In this way Old English exemplifies the formulæ, *to ðam ðingum ðæt, for ðem intingan ðæt, on ðæt gerad ðæt*, which are treated in their proper places below. But, as stated, these are exceptional; the pronoun after the preposition is the rule.

Hence, growing out of prepositional phrases of purpose + an explanatory substantive clause, are found next in order the compound introductory formulæ of the final clause. These will be discussed according to the following scheme:

- A. *To* + instrumental, dative + *ðæt* (269).
- B. *For* + instrumental, dative + *ðæt* (41).
- C. *Wið* + instrumental, dative, accusative + *ðæt* (8).
- D. *Be* + dative + *ðæt* (2).
- E. *On* + dative + *ðæt* (2).

F. Exceptionally, *to*, *wið*, and in addition *embe* precede directly the *ðæt*-clause, giving the formulæ :

1. *to ðæt*.      2. *wið ðæt*.      3. *embe ðæt*.

NOTE. It will be seen at once that these introductory formulæ are merely the phrases already studied (v. pp. 33 ff.) with the addition of a limiting *ðæt*-clause ; and that the preceding study of the phrase has shown the same prepositions in the same relative frequency of occurrence as will be met in the following sections treating of the final clause.

- A. *To* + object + *ðæt*-clause (269).

Just as *to* was used the most frequently of all prepositions in phrases of purpose (v. pp. 33 ff.), so here among the compound formulæ the combinations with *to*, e.g. *to ðon ðæt*, *to ðy ðæt*, &c., are in the large majority. See chart in Appendix I.

Other Germanic dialects show parallel usage. For example, in Gothic we have *duthe ei* of Mk. 4. 21 : ii. Cor. 3. 13 : Eph. 3. 4 ; 6. 22 : Col. 4. 8 ; or with the dative form, e.g. *du thamma ei* of John 18. 37. Older H. G. shows *zi thiu thaz* : e.g. *Tatian* 77. 5 *zi thiu, thaz gifullit wurdī thaz giquetan uwas* (= *ut adimpleretur quod dictum est*). Modern German has a logical parallel in *dazu dass*. See the following example quoted by Wetzels, *Gram.* p. 341 : *Die Thiere sind zwar dazu da, dass wir sie benutzen, nicht aber dazu, dass wir sie quälen*. Cf. also *auf dass* in the same use. Also the Middle English *to the entente that* and Modern English *to the end that*. French *afin que*.

In Old English the cases after *to* in forming these compound formulæ are : (a) the instrumental (205) and (b) the dative (64). The first of these shows the two instrumental forms *ðon* and *ðy*, which fact, it will be seen, is significant from the standpoint of chronology and authorship (v. p. 65). Therefore in the examination of the *to*-formulæ, we shall recognize three distinct cate-

gories, the first two including the instrumental forms; the third the rarer dative. This yields for discussion the formulæ<sup>1</sup>:

1. To *ðon* (*ðan*) *ðæt* (144).
2. To *ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* (61).
3. To *ðæm* (*ðam*) *ðæt* (64).

NOTE. *Don* has a MS. variant *ðān*, and *ðæm* (*ðam*) sometimes in LWS. is written *ðān* (Sievers-Cook, *Gram.* p. 186). Since *ðān* and *ðān* are not distinguishable in the texts, in the following pages I have consistently considered *ðan* with *ðon*.

1. To *ðon* *ðæt* (144).

The number of occurrences appears from the following scheme:

Chron.	5	CP.	2	Int. Sig.	5
Cod. Dip.	2	Dial.	80	Inst.	1
O.	29	Guth.	1	BlH.	2
BH.	6	Mart.	1	HL.	2
Bo.	1	LS.	3	Ap. T.	4

From this, compared with the chart in Appendix I, we find:

(a) that *to ðon ðæt*, with the instr. form *ðon* (*ðan*), is characteristic of the earlier writings, showing out of a total of 144, 127 occurrences before the time of Ælfric.

(b) that Dial. is unique in all Old English in that *to ðon ðæt*<sup>2</sup> is more frequent than the simple *ðæt*. The numbers are: *to ðon ðæt* = 80; *ðæt* = 25.

(c) that the WS. Gospels, being close translations (cf. p. 100), do not show this formula at all, though John has four instances of *to ðæm* (*ðam*) *ðæt* (v. App. I).

(d) that O. is unique in that of all the *to*-formulæ, it shows only *to ðon ðæt* (29).

NOTE 1. *To ðon ðætte* occurs twice in BH., viz. 74. 8; 288. 6. In a land grant of Æthilbald of Mercia (743-745 A. D.), we find the unique *to ðon ðæti*: Cod. Dip. i. 114. 14 *ic wæs syllende for minre sawle læcedome to*

<sup>1</sup> For these formulæ expressing result, cf. e.g. O. 164. 18: Dial. 18. 9; 38. 33; 65. 31; 188. 13; 189. 27; 240. 18; 242. 10; 270. 19; 276. 22: Wulf. 54. 10; 154. 29; 194. 23.

<sup>2</sup> The later MS. H. often has *to ðam ðæt* for *to ðon ðæt* of MS. C.

*ðon ðati* for *minum synnum hi heo gecaðmedden*. In the same charter, line 3, occurs *ðati*, and line 5, *ðeti*, introducing substantive clauses. Cf. also the Lind. Gloss *pti*, of John 21. 25. See also p. 58, note.

NOTE 2. *To ðæn*, probably by confusion of *ðam* and *ðan*, occurs: Cod. Dip. v. 163. 8 (Eadweard of Wessex, 901-909 A.D.) *ic Eadweard cinig begat . . . to ðæn ðæt ic ðær mynster on gestaðolode*.

(An index-list will be found in Appendix III.)

## 2. To *ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* (61).

This occurs numerically as follows:—

Chron.	1	(232. 29, 1096 A.D.)	ÆHi.	27	Æc. Asm.	2
Laws	1	(196. 1, 975 A.D.)	ÆHii.	14	Wulf.	2
Lch. i.	1		LS.	7	BH.	6

Examination of the occurrences of *to ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* introducing clauses of purpose brings to light the following facts:

(a) The forms *ðy* (*ði*) are found only in monuments that may reasonably be placed after 950 A.D. As the above table shows, not one of the 61 examples belongs to the pre-Ælfrician period, when as already seen the form *ðon* was the rule.

(b) Within this later period just mentioned, the form *ði* (44) as opposed to *ðy* (16) is the prevailing one (v. pp. 70, b and 96, c).

(c) ÆHi. and ÆHii. show no other *to*-formula but *to ðy* (*ði*) *ðæt*, which occurs here 41 times.

NOTE 1. The above statements are practically true of the rarer *for ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* (v. p. 70, a).

NOTE 2. *To ðam ðæt* and *to ðy ðæt* stand side by side in ÆHi. 614. 8 *to ðam he wext ðæt he fealle*; *to ðy he sprytt ðæt he mid cwyldum fornyme swa hwæt swa he ær sprytte*.

(An index-list is in Appendix III.)

## 3. To *ðam* (*ðæm*) *ðæt* (64).

This occurs as follows:

Laws	1	John	4	Inst.	2
PPs.	12	Lch. iii.	2	BiH.	1
Bo.	2	LS.	4	Wulf.	12
CP.	6	Hept.	9	HL.	6
Dial.	1	Æc. Asm.	1	Nic.	1

From the study of the occurrences of the *to*-formulæ with the dative *ðam* (*ðæm*), we note the following:

(a) *To ðam* (*ðæm*) *ðæt*, like *to ðon ðæt* and unlike *to ðy* (*ði*) *ðæt*, is found in all periods.

(b) The form *ðam* (50) is more common than *ðæm* (14) (v. p. 71, *b*).

(c) Hept. (9) and PPs. (12) are unique, in that of the *to*-formulæ they show only *to ðam* (*ðæm*) *ðæt*. Did the old Psalter of Ælfred's time have an influence upon Ælfric's diction in his Bible translations? (see also p. 95).

NOTE. MS. H. of Dial. often has *to ðam ðæt* for the *to ðon ðæt* of MS. C.

If any other word than a form of the demonstrative *se seo ðæt* follows *to*, naturally this is in the dative. This is seen in the rare phrases following:—

(a) *to ðisum ðæt*: Dial. 100. 3 *ic wæs to ðisum hider onsæded, ðæt wit nyman and geðicgan samod ða gife ðæs ælmihtigan drihtnes*.

(b) *to ðam anum ðæt*: Wulf. 55. 24 *ðæt mete wære mannum gescapen to ðam anum ðæt men his scoldan brucan*. HL. 144. 10 *ðæt . . . he ðider cume . . . na to nanum idelum geflite, ne to nanum woruldlicum spræcum, ac to ðam anum ðæt he his synna Gode andette* (cf. p. 34). Add BO. 55. 2.

(c) *to ðam sylfan ðæt*: Wulf. 175. 24 *nu syndan we bisceopas to ðam sylfan gesette, ðæt we bodian sceolan Godes riht*.

(d) *to ðam ðingum ðæt*: Wulf. 16. 11 *her wearð man geboren to ðam ðingum ðæt he . . . mancynn alysde*. Id. 178. 18 *gode we hy betæcað to ðam ðingum ðæt cristene menn ðæto faran magan*.

(See an index-list in Appendix III.)

Rhetorically considered, the compound *to*-formulæ, like *ðætte* (v. pp. 61 ff.) and the *for*-formulæ (v. p. 72 f.), denote greater emphasis upon the purpose idea than would be felt with the simple *ðæt*. E.g. John 1. 31 *ic com and fullode on wætere to ðæm*

ðæt he wære geswutelod on Israhela folce (= sed ut manifesta-  
retur in Israhel *propterea* veni ego in aqua baptizans. Deut. 1. 27  
he alædde us ut of Egipta lande to ðam ðæt he us sealde on  
Amorreiscra hand to ofsleanne (= *idcirco* eduxit nos de terra  
Ægypti ut traderet nos in manu A. atque deleret. Note here  
the emphatic *propterea . . . ut, idcirco . . . ut* of the original.

Therefore, in long, involved sentences we often find the  
emphatic *to*-formulae employed to mark inter-clausal relations  
that would not appear so boldly and clearly, if only the usual,  
less emphatic *ðæt* were used. E.g. O. 102. 18 mid hwelcum  
lotwrence hit deofla dydon . . . ðæt hie mid ðy yfele ða menn  
swenctan, to ðon ðæt hie geliefdon . . . and ðæt hie ðonan  
mosten to ðæm sawlum becuman, and ðæt hie mosten tawian . . .  
BH. 74. 7 alle Bretta biscopas we bebeodað ðinre broðorlicnesse,  
to ðon ðætte unlærde seon gelærede and untrume mid ðinre  
trymenisse syn gestrongade and unrehte mid ðinre aldorlicnesse  
seon gerehte. Id. 288. 4 wæs heo semninga gehrinen mid  
hefigre untrymnesse lichoman, and ðurh nigon ger full mid ða  
arfæstan foreseonisse ures Alesendes swiðe swenced wæs, to ðon  
ðætte, swa hwæt swa in hire unclænes betweenh ða mægen ðurh  
unwisnesse oððo (*sic*) ðurh ungemænne gelumpe, ðætte eal ðæt  
se ofn ðære singalan costunge asude.

However, on the other hand, often the *to*-formulae are hardly  
to be differentiated from the simple *ðæt* in force, as in Dial.  
180. 6 *syle me on ðeowdome for hine, ðæt ðu ðinne sunu eft onfo*,  
compared with the almost juxtaposed id. 180. 12 *ne twoe ðu na  
ðæt ðu sylle ðisne biscop on ðeowdome to ðon ðæt ðu ðinne sunu eft  
onfo*. Similar are examples *passim* in Dial.

Finally, the *to*-compounds, though often apparently faded in  
intensity, like Modern English *in order that*, were the normal  
introductory conjunctions in Old English for the emphatic  
expression of a final clause.

B. *For* + object + *ðæt*-clause (41).

We have already seen *for* of causal signification passing  
into *for* of purpose in the simple phrase (p. 42). There, we

found it ranking next to *to* in order of frequency of occurrence. Hence, naturally here the *for*-formulæ (*for ðon ðæt*, &c.) introducing the purpose clause come next in numbers after the *to*-formulæ just discussed; however, they are met with much less frequently than the latter, the exact figures being 41 : 269, which gives practically the same ratio as that observed between the two prepositions in simple phrases of finality (v. pp. 33, 42).

This shifting of the causal idea to one of purpose may be seen, as well, in the German *darum dass*, *deshalb* . . . *damit*. E. g. *Darum, dass dem Lechzenden werde sein Heil*, so will ich das Wasserlein jetzt in Eil durchwaten mit nackenden Füßen (Schiller). Bei vielen Geschäften schliesst man deshalb schriftliche Verträge ab, damit etwaigen Streitigkeiten vorgebeugt werde<sup>1</sup>.

Later English also furnishes examples of the blending of *for* causal with *for* final. E. g. *Orm*. 11406 *ure Laferd . . . was ledd ut inntill wessteland ðurh Gast, for ðatt he sholde beon fandedd ðurh ðe laðe gast*. Chaucer, *The Monkes Tale*, 371 *his chaar . . . this grete Romain, this Aurilian, hath with him lad, for that men schulde se*. Shakespeare, *Rich. II.* 1. 3 *for that our kingdom's earth should not be soiled. . . and for our eyes do hate the dire aspect. . . therefore we banish you our territories*. See Eienkel, *Mittelengl. Syntax*, p. 143; Mätzner, *Engl. Gram.* iii. 482. Note in this connection the same logical tendency in the Latin *causa . . . ut, propterea . . . ut* (A. Dräger, *Hist. Gram. des Lat.* ii. 658) and the Old French *por ce que* (see Eienkel as above).

NOTE. Mätzner, *Gram.* i. 466, notes *for* alone as a purpose particle in *Piers Ploughman*, 7278 *briddes . . . hidden and hileden hir egges . . . for men sholde him noght fynde*.

To return to the *for*-formulæ in Old English, sometimes it is difficult to decide whether the *for*-phrase, *for ðon* (*ðy*, *ðæm*), is to be regarded as final or whether it is merely an illative 'therefore' within the main clause. This difficulty is met where

<sup>1</sup> For these two citations, see Ed. and Fr. Wetzel, *Die deutsche Sprache*, 9th ed., Berlin, 1887, at p. 341.

there occurs tmesis (v. pp. 78, 80) of the *for*-formulae, in which case this latter appears as *for ðon* (*ðy*, *ðæm*)...*ðæt*. E. g. Int. Sig. 458 and *wurdon forði mid swæfenum fyre forswælede, ðæt heora fule galnys wurde . . . gewitnod*.

After *for*, as with *to* (v. p. 65), we find the instrumental and the dative forms of the demonstrative pronominal used, giving introductory formulae as follows:

1. For *ðon* (*ðe*) *ðæt* (4).
2. For *ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* (16).
3. For *ðæm* (*ðam*) *ðæt* (21).
1. For *ðon* (*ðe*) *ðæt* (4).

The only instances of the older instrumental form *for ðon ðæt* (or *ðe*, v. p. 78) denoting purpose are:

CP. 150. 13 *monige sint swæ swæ we ær cwædon, ðe mon sceal wærlíce licettan and ðeahhwæðre eft kyðan for ðon ðæt hie ongieten ðæt hie mon tæle*. Add id. 362. 8. LSi. 108. 330 and *eode mid his wife aweg to his huse, for ðan ðe he ne mihte geseon hu his sunu forburne*. Guth. 84. 4 *ic forðon her . . . hire onsyne fleah . . . ðæt wyt eft . . . unc eft gesawon*; (where, however, the *forðon* may be merely the illative 'therefore').

2. For *ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* (16).

This occurs as seen in the following table:

PPs.	1	ÆHii.	6	Hept.	1
CP.	1	Int. Sig.	1	Æc. Asm.	1
ÆHi.	5				

From this and from the chart in Appendix I, we see:

(a) Just as the formula *to ði* (*ðy*) *ðæt* was met with only in the later writings (v. p. 66, a), so here *for ði* (*ðy*) (with instr. form *ði* (*ðy*)) occurs only twice in the pre-Ælfrian monuments (viz. PPs. 18 *heading*; CP. 451. 4), as opposed to 14 occurrences within the later period.

(b) As seen to be the case with the *to*-formulae (66, b), *for ði ðæt*, in contradistinction to *for ðy ðæt*, is the rule. The passages just referred to afford the sole exceptions.

The instances of *for ði ðæt* are: *ÆHi.* 162. 25 *se weig . . .* is *forði* nearu and sticol, *forði ðæt* we sceolon mid earfoðnysse geearnian urne eðel. *Id.* 296. 24 he gereordode hine æfter his æriste na *forði ðæt* he syððan eorðlices bigleofan behofode, ac to ði ðæt he geswutelode his soðan lichaman. (Note the juxtaposition of *to ði ðæt* and *for ði ðæt*.) *ÆHi.* 592. 31; 606. 26; 608. 10: *ÆHii.* 44. 18; 88. 13; 412. 12; 534. 29, 32; 580. 1: *Int. Sig.* 170: *Num.* 23. 11: *ÆC. Asm.* 110. 261. In some of these *for ði* may be illative.

NOTE. The formula *for ðig . . . ðæt* occurs *Gen.* 20. 6.

### 3. For ðæm (ðam) ðæt (21).

This formula occurs as follows:

Bo.	3	<i>ÆHii.</i>	1
CP.	16	<i>Exod.</i>	1

From this we see:

(a) *For ðæm (ðam) ðæt* occurs 19 times in the earlier writings and only twice within the *Ælfrician* period. We have just seen that in this the formula is *for ði ðæt*.

(b) Contrary to what might be expected in accordance with the greater frequency of *to ðam ðæt* over *to ðæm ðæt* (v. p. 67, b), we find *for ðæm ðæt* (18) more frequent than *for ðam ðæt* (3).

Citations and references follow:

*Bo.* 54. 6 *sume tiliað . . . wifa, forðæm ðæt* he ðurh ðæt mæge mæst bearna begitan (= *uxor ac liberi qui jucunditatis gratia petuntur*). *Id.* 133. 19 *oft eac becymð se anwald ðisse worulde to swiðe goodum monnum, forðæm ðæt* se anwald ðara yfelana weorðe toworpen (= *fit autem sæpe, uti bonis summa verum gerenda deferatur, ut exuberans retundatur improbitas*).

NOTE. In the above sentence, Sedgefield's ed. gives *forðæm þ*. Cardale's (p. 350. 6) omits *þ*. Wülfing, following the latter, lists *for ðæm* as a purpose formula (*Ælf. Syntax*, ii. 155) and quotes this sentence (*id.* p. 158, *near end*) as containing a purpose clause introduced by *for ðæm*. Since I have found nothing similar to a combination like *for ðæm*, with omission of *ðæt*, in purpose clauses, and since the Sedgefield text is to be preferred to previous ones, *forðæm* in this paper is not recognized as an introductory formula of purpose.

CP. 74. 19 se reccere sceal bion simle clæne on his geðohte, ðæt[te nan] unclænnes hine ne besmite ðonne he ða ðenunga underfehð, forðæm ðæt he mæge adryggean of oðerra monna heortan ðæt ðæron fules sie (= rector semper cogitatione sit mundus . . . ut in alienis quoque cordibus pollutionis maculos tergat. Id. 158. 14 geðence ge hwæt ge sien for ðæm ðæt ge eower mod gemetgien (= pensa quod es, ut se spiritus temperet. Add id. 182. 13, 19; 184. 21; 210. 25; 212. 20; 218. 5; 417. 33; 459. 1: Bo. 134. 24.

See for ðæm ðætte CP. 32. 22; 76. 10; 146. 6; 220. 20; 356. 6 (cf. p. 61, note). Also for ðæm ðe CP. 202. 23 (v. p. 78).

NOTE 1. The sole instance found of the form for ðam ðæt is Exod. 9. 16 for ðam ic ðe gesette, ðæt ic mine strengðe on ðe gecyðe and ðæt min nama sig gecyðed ofer ealle eorðan (= idcirco autem posui te, ut ostendam in te fortitudinem meam et narretur nomen in omni terra.

NOTE 2. Once the noun *intinga*, 'purpose,' follows *for*, making the formula for ðam *intingan* ðæt. *ÆHii*. 534. 35 se ðe bodað for ðam *intingan* ðæt he his Drihtnes hæse and willan gefremme. See also for + *intingan*, p. 46, note 1.

NOTE 3. The clause with *for* ðæt, with verb in the indic., in Sol. 10. 5 (Hulme's text, *Anglia* 18. See also O. Cockayne, *The Shrine*, 168. 21), given by Wülfing (*Ælf. Syntax*, ii. 156 *mid.*) as a purpose clause, I can take only as causal.

Rhetorically considered, the *for*-formulae in clauses of purpose, like ðætte (v. pp. 61 ff.) and the *to*-compounds (v. pp. 67 f.), denote purpose more emphatically, mark it more clearly, than the simple ðæt. Hence we find the *for*-formulae, as we have seen to be true of ðætte and the *to*-compounds, occurring in long, involved sentences, to make more perspicuous inter-clausal relations. E.g. CP. 74. 19 quoted above. Id. 210. 24 ac we sculon him forbeodan ðæt hie huru swæ ne don, swelce hit ðonne giet gedon ne sie, forðæm ðæt sio hering ðe we ær heredon, us gefultume ðæt we hie wiðermode ne gedon us mid ðære tælinge, ac ðæt sio hering getrymme & gemetgige ðæs wacmodan . . . mod. Id. 212. 19 swæ gedyde se soðfæsta lareow ðæt he ærest gehierdun ða heringe ðe him licode, forðæm

ðæt hie æfter ðæm ðy lustlicor gehierden ða lare, ðætte ðæt lof hie to ðæm getrymede ðætte sio monung hie eft ne geðrycte. Id. 220. 18 ac eft sint to manigenne ða geðyldegan ðætte ðæt hie mid hiera wordum and mid hiera dædum forgiefað ðæt hie ðæt eac on hiera ingeðonce forgifen, ðylæs he mid ðy niðe yfles ingeðonces toweorpe ða mæghenu ðæs godan weorces ðe he Gode utan anwealglice forgeaf, forðæm, ðonne hit nan man wietan ne mæg hwæðer hit eallinga forgiefen sie, ðætte hit ðonne se ne wrece ðe. . . Id. 362. 8 eac sint to manianne ða ðe on ðæm bioð abisgode ðæt hie sibbe tiliað, ðæt hie ærest tiligen to gecyðonne ðæm ungesceadwisum modum hu sio lufu bion scyle ðære inweardlican sibbe, ðylæs him æfter firste sio uterre sib derige; forðon . . . ðæt hie eac geðencen ðæt hie ne weorðen beswicene mid ðære uterran lufe and . . . ðætte sio eorðlice sib hie ne geteo to wyrstan. Id. 417. 31 ac ða sint to manienne ða ðe ða geðohtan synna hreowsiað ðæt hie geornfullice giemen on hwelce ðæra synna hie befeollen, forðæm ðæt hi mægen ongean ðæt be ðæm ilcan gemete hreowsian ðe hi on hira (inn)geðonce ongieten ðæt hie gesyngodon, ðylæs. . . *Perhaps also* id. 32. 23.

C. *Wið* + object + *ðæt*-clause (8).

*Wið* is found to a limited degree in formulæ introducing a final clause, and, like *for*, indicates a blending with some other adverbial relation, as will be seen below. So far as I am able to discover, this use of *wið* is peculiar to Old English alone; and even here it was never in extended use, though not confined to any one author or period of time.

It is followed by (1) the gen., (2) the instr. and dat., and (3) the acc., giving the formulæ:

1. *Wið* ðæs ðæt (1).
2. *Wið* ðon ðe and *wið* ðæm (ðam) ðe (6).
3. *Wið* ðæt . . . ðæt (1).
1. *Wið* ðæs ðæt (1).

Here *wið* = primarily 'motion toward' (cf. the *to*-formulæ, p. 34), as in, e.g., O. 194. 11 ða wifmen urnon mid stanum

wið ðara wealla. See also id. 116. 28; 166. 19; 170. 14; 190. 3; 234. 8. Hence we are not surprised to find the sole instance of *wið ðæs ðæt* introducing a final clause, after a verb of motion, viz. *onettan*. The instance is: Bo. 139. 24 *me wære leofre ðæt ic onette wið ðæs ðæt ic ðe moste gelæstan ðæt ic ðe ær gehet* (= *festino debitum promissionis absolvere*).

2. Wið ðon ðe and wið ðæm (ðam) ðe (6).

Here the idea of reciprocity between action and purpose is present—'to the end that and in exchange for'—where a phase of conditionality blends with finality. See also p. 90, B. These formulæ more often mean 'on condition that,' 'in case that.' E.g. Chron. 129. 11 and him gafol behete and metsunge, wið ðon ðe hi ðære hergunge geswicon. O. 192. 1 hie hit eall forgeofon wið ðæm ðe hie him æt ðæm gewinnum fuleoden<sup>1</sup>. Add Chron. 133. 33: Lch. iii. 44. 21. Also cf. Lch. i. 312. 21.

However, in the following the idea of finality is predominant in the *wið*-formulæ:

BH. 126. 20 ða sende he sona ærendwrecan to him and micel feoh, wið ðon ðe he hine ofsloge, oððe him to cwale agefe (= *misit nuncios, qui Redualdo pecuniam multam pro nece ejus offerrent*. See Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 157, *mid*. Lch. ii. 156. 5 Wið ðon ðe<sup>2</sup> hær ne weaxe, æmettan ægru genim. . . . CP. 254. 8 hu micle swiðor sculon we ðonne bion gehiersume ðæm ðe ure gasta Fæder bið, wið ðæm ðe we moten libban on ecnesse! (= *non multo magis obtemperabimus patri spirituum, et vivemus!* Wulf. 173. 23 ðeowlingas ða ðry dægas (*sic*) ælces weorces beon frige wið ðam ðe hig ðæt fæstan ðe lustlicor fæstan. Id. 181. 31 and . . . gelæste man Godes gerihta huru rihtlice wið ðam ðe us God ælmihtig gemiltsige and us geunne ðæt we ure fynd ofercuman motan. Id. 290. 9 and ðe ðær georne to Gode bide and to allum his halgum, wið ðam ðe ðine synna ðæs ðe forgifenron (*sic*) beon and ðæt ðu ðæt ece lif habban mote.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax*, ii. 157, *end*.

<sup>2</sup> Here Cockayne proposes to read *wið ðon ðæt*. Cf. the other examples under this paragraph, all of which show *ðe*, not *ðæt*.

## 3. Wið ðæt . . . ðæt (1).

This is exemplified only in Sol. 68. 5 he gelære ðæt hy hi wið ðæt warnien ðæt hy ðær ne cumen. However here may be only a substantive *ðæt*-clause, explanatory of the *ðæt* after *wið*.

## D. Be ðæm ðæt (2).

Here the formula expresses a meaning lying, perhaps, between 'with reference to this that' and 'with this in view that.' Old Saxon affords a parallel in *bithiu*; e.g. *Heliand* 1041 God uuolde theson uueroda forgeban ho himilriki . . . bithiu hie is suno sanda. The examples in Old English are:

Bo. 108. 1 forðy ic ðe wolde gegaderian manigu spell and manega bisna be ðæm ðæt ðu meahte ðy eð ongitan hwæt ic secgan wille (= sed quoniam te ad intellegendum promptissimum esse conspicio, crebras coacervabo rationes. Bo. 132. 4 ic ðe mæg eac reccan sum bispell be ðæm ðæt ðu hit meaht ðe sweotelor ongitan (= no Latin parallel.

## E. On ðæm ðæt (2).

This formula is rare introducing a final clause, in spite of the relative frequency of *on* + dat., acc. in the simple phrase of purpose (v. p. 47).

In this connection, note the Gothic *in this ei*, and the Old Saxon *an thiū* in *Heliand* 3259 (MS. Monac) huat scal ik manages duan an thiū the ik hebenriki gehalan moti (= quid boni faciam ut habeam vitam aeternam? (M. 19. 16).

In Old English, CP. furnishes the only two instances of *on ðæm ðæt* as a formula before a final clause, viz.

CP. 236. 7 hie simle swincað on ðæm ðæt hie tiliað ðæt hie ne scielen leasunga sæcgean (= quod studeant numquam falsa dicere. Here the indic. *tiliað* may mark the *ðæt*-clause as strictly substantive and explanatory of *ðæm*. However, the other example shows the verb in the opt., viz.

CP. 250. 4 ac swinceð on ðæm ðæt he liornige unðeawas (= perpetrandis vitiis elaborat.

NOTE. The combination, *on* + acc. of the noun *gerad*, 'condition, purpose,' gives the formula, *on ðæt (ða) gerad ðæt*. See p. 50, n. 3. This usually means 'on the condition that,' as in O. 190. 31 and ealle ða men ðe hie on ðeowdome hæfdon hie gefreodon on ðæt gerad ðæt he him aðas sworan ðæt hie him æt ðæm gewinnum gelæsten.

But twice in OE. it has been found meaning 'for the purpose that,' viz.

O. 52. 32 he Cirus cyning hæfde ðriddan ðæl his firde beæftan him, on ðæt gerad, gif ænig wære ðe fyr fluge . . ., ðæt hine mon sloge (= no Lat. parallel. Inst. 482. *top* donne hwa to his scrifte cymeð on ða gerad ðæt he wille his ðearfa to him spreca and his synna andettan.

Note the Mod. Eng. 'on purpose' + infin. as in Butler's *Hudibras* I. 1. 165 As if Divinity had caught the itch on purpose to be scratched. Cf. also the German 'in der Absicht zu' in the sentence following: Schipper, *Grundriss der Engl. Metrik*, p. 359 der Dichter noch einen mit dem letzten Verse c reimenden neunten, sechstaktigen Vers ausschloss, offenbar in der Absicht der Strophe einen deutlich sich vernehmbar machenden . . . Abschluss zu geben.

#### F. The preposition alone + ðæt-clause (10).

Rarely *to* and *wið* treated above and, in addition, *embe* immediately precede the ðæt-clause, without the intervention of an object, forming the compound introductory formulæ:

1. To ðæt; 2. wið ðæt; 3. embe ðæt, which occur as follows:

##### 1. To ðæt (4).

This occurs as follows:

Sol. 26. 12 cume [ic] to ðæt ic hine mæge sweetolor geseon. Mart. 42. 7 het him beran wæter to ðæt he mihte onbergean. Id. 66. 26 brohtan ðæt heafod to ðæt he gesege hulic ðæt wære. LSii. 362. 110 ðe com ðæs wynsuma bræð to ðæt ðu wite heonanforð hwæs blod readað on rosan gelicnysse.

##### 2. Wið ðæt (4).

This occurs only in the Leechdoms and seems to be an extension of the frequent *wið ðæt* in the sense of 'in case that'; e.g. Lch. i. 312. 21 ðeos wirt . . . to manegum ðingon wel fremað; ðæt ys ðonne ærest ongean ðeofol-seocnyssa and wið næddran . . . and *wið ðæt ðu gife hæbbe*. Also see Lch. i., the index, *passim*.

In four instances, however, it introduces a final clause, viz.

Lch. i. 214. 24 wið ðæt heafod ne ace for sunnan hætan, genym ðysse sylfan wyrte leaf. Id. 216. 19 wið ðæt man læla and oðre sar of lichaman gedo, genim ðas wyrte. Id. 224. 18 wið ðæt ðu nane yfele geancymas ne ondræde, genim ðas ylcan wyrte. Id. 346. 13 wið ðæt cildum butan sare teð wexen, haran brægen gesoden. Compare, however, p. 19, and note 1.

### 3. Embe ðæt (2).

This formula is somewhat doubtful, since *embe* in the citations below may be only an adverb (v. p. 89, note).

John 10. 39 hig smeadon witodlice embe ðæt hig woldon hine gefon (= quærebant ergo eum perdere. Wulf. 136. 13 beo he swyðe geornlice embe ðæt he hit leornige.

NOTE. Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 86) cites a parallel in the MHG. *umbe daz, daz*. E.g. B. von Regensburg 221. 11 so tuot ez doch umbe daz, daz ir iemer ewiclichen lebet.

Finally, in explanation of the formulæ *to ðæt*, *wið ðæt*, *embe ðæt*, two considerations present themselves:

First, and far more probably, here we have two *ðæt*'s, the accusative object of the preposition and the *ðæt* introductory of the clause, blended into one. Logically expanded the formulæ would be *to ðæt*, *ðæt*, &c., parallel to the MHG. *umbe daz, daz* just noted, or to the Old English *wið ðæt . . . ðæt* (p. 75, 3). In later English, this simplification is the rule after *for*, giving the formula *for that*. Note Einkenkel, *Mittelengl. Syntax*, p. 143: 'Das genau genommen notwendige doppelte *that* wird meist zu einem zusammengezogen, und häufig fehlt auch dies eine, ohne dass sich an der conjunctionalen Kraft des *for* etwas ändert.' For instances of this, see p. 69, 3rd par.

Second, it is conceivable that the *ðæt*-clause as a whole in the above sentences is a substantive object of the preceding prepositions (*to*, *wið*, *embe*), which govern it directly without an intervening pronominal. But this is hardly tenable in view of the parallels that go to support the former theory.

*Supplementary.*

The study of the prepositional introductory formulæ of the final clause is now finished. However, in addition must be noticed two phenomena therewith connected, viz.

1. *ðe* used instead of *ðæt* (9).

Nine times in the prepositional formulæ just studied, *ðe* is met in place of the normal *ðæt* standing after the pronominal object in the compound. The occurrences follow:

(a) To *ðam ðe* (1).

Laws (Ælfred's) 60. 2 *aloc ðu hine fram minum weofode, to ðam ðe he deaðe swehte* (= *ab altari meo evelles eum, ut moriatur* (Exod. 21. 14).

(b) For *ðæm (ðon) ðe* (2).

CP. 202. 23 *ða ðe worldmonnum ðynceað dysige, ða gecist Dryhten, for ðæm ðe (Sweet emends to for ðæm ðæt) he ða lytegan . . . gescende* (v. p. 72). LSi. 108. 330, see p. 70.

(c) *Wið ðon ðe* (6).

BH. 126. 21; CP. 254. 9; Lch. ii. 156. 5; Wulf. 173. 23; 181. 31; 290. 7. See p. 74.

## 2. Tmesis of the introductory formula (47).

Not uncommon has been what may be called tmesis of the compound prepositional formulæ. In such cases the *ðæt* introducing the purpose clause is separated from the preceding preposition + demonstrative by a part of the main clause, thus giving, for example, the formula *to ðon . . . ðæt* instead of the usual *to ðon ðæt*.

This tmesis, like the Latin *ad hoc . . . ut, idcirco . . . ut, ea re . . . ut, ea causa . . . ut, propterea . . . ut* (v. p. 70), has merely the rhetorical effect of emphasizing the final clause. It occurs in connection with all the commoner formulæ, and is confined to no one author or period, as may be seen from the following statement, where the figures indicate the actual number of exemplifications of the phenomenon.

To *ðon . . . ðæt*, O. 4; BH. 2; Dial. 2; HL. 2 . . . (10)

To *ði . . . ðæt*, ÆHi. 4; ÆHii. 1; BR. 1 . . . (6)

To ðam . . . ðæt, CP. 4; Dial. 1; John 1; Inst. 1;	
Wulf. 6 . . . . .	(13)
For ðon . . . ðæt, Guth. 1 . . . . .	(1)
For ði . . . ðæt, CP. 1; AEHi. 3; AEHii. 4; Int. Sig. 2;	
Hept. 2; Aec. Asm. 1 . . . . .	(13)
For ðæm . . . ðæt(te), Bo. 1; CP. 2; Exod. 1 . . .	(4)

Some examples for illustration follow:

(a) To ðon . . . ðæt.

O. 34. 19 wundor . . . *to ðon gedon*, *ðæt* hi hiora agnum godum getealde wæron. Id. 264. 12 ðæt mon acwealde eall Dauides cynn to ðon, gif Crist geboren nære ða giet, ðæt he na siððan geboren ne wurde. Dial. 68. 13 to ðon he ðis dyde, ðæt he him selfum geearnade mede. Id. 184. 25 se . . . gast to ðon ferde in ðæt hus ðæt he manna eardunge of ðam huse adrife. HL. 155. 96 to ðan se . . . cyning . . . us hider . . . gesohte, . . . ðæt he us wolde ðurh his tocyme ece lif ðenian and forgeofan. See also *to ðon . . . hu* (p. 89, note).

(b) To ði . . . ðæt.

AEHi. 32. 27 ðæs caseres gebann . . . getacnode . . . ðæs heofonlican Cyninges dæde, ðe to ði com . . . ðæt he . . . his gecorenan gegaderode and heora naman . . . awrite. Id. 598. 5 gif ðu to ði come ðæt ðu me alyse . . . BR. 119. 21 healde mon on hreglhuse ða reaf . . . toði, gyf heo ahwænne mid deofles costnunge beswicen byd (*sic*), ðæt heo on geðafunge gæð, ðæt heo hyre gehat Gode awæge.

(c) To ðæm . . . ðæt.

CP. 4. 2 ðu ðe ðissa woruldðinga to ðæm geæmettige, swa ðu oflost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom . . . befæste. Id. 134. 7 soðlice ða gimmas ðara halignessa to ðæm wæron gemacode [getacnode] ðæt hie sceoldon scinan. Id. 352. 21 ic to ðæm come on eorðan ðæt ic sibbe sende. Id. 389. 30 sio orsorgnes . . . bið to ðæm gelæned ðæt hie sien ðurh ða to beteran life getogene. Dial. 27. 25 he hine to ðam befæste ðæt he moste beon læce. John 18. 37 to ðam ic com on mid-daneard ðæt ic cyðe soðfæstnysse (= *ad hoc veni . . . ut*

. . . perhibeam. Inst. 434, *end* to ðam asette syn, ðæt hi Godes folce riht bodian sculan. Wulf. 7. 4 ðe to ðam gesette syn, ðæt hi Godes folce riht bodian sculon. Id. 283. 7; 304. 3. Id. 8. 12 to ðam hy gesceop God ælmihtig ðæt hy and heora ofspring scoldan gefyllan . . . Id. 9. 2 mann to ðam gescapen wæs ðæt he scolde . . . gefyllan . . . Id. 154. 11 bisceopas syndon to ðam gesette on ðisre worulde ðæt hy georne sculon . . . Godes folc wenian.

(d) For ðon . . . ðæt.

Guth. 84. 4 ic forðon her . . . hire ansyne fleah . . . ðæt wyt eft . . . unc eft gesawon.

(e) For ði . . . ðæt.

ÆHi. 592. 31 forði ic ðreatige ðe to ura goda offrunge, ðæt ðis folc . . . forleton . . . Id. 606. 26 uton forði us gearcian . . . ðæt we . . . becumon . . . Id. 608. 10 and forði cydde ða yfelnyssa . . . ðæt he us fram his lufe gestilde. Add CP. 451. 4: ÆHii. 88. 13; 412. 12; 534. 29; 580. 1: Int. Sig. 170; 458: Gen. 20. 6: Num. 33. 11: Æc. Asm. 110. 261 (v. p. 70).

(f) For ðæm . . . ðæt.

Bo. 134. 24 manegum men bioð eac forðæm ðas weoruldgesælða ðæt he scile ðæm goodum leanian hiora good. Add CP. 451. 3: Exod. 9. 16. Cf. also *for ðæm . . . ðætte*, CP. 220. 22.

### III. THE RELATIVE ADJECTIVE CLAUSE OF PURPOSE (47)

This construction is fairly frequent in Old English, more frequent here indeed than in the other Germanic dialects, perhaps. Balg (*Goth. Lit.* p. 282), after excluding such passages as L. 15. 12; John 13. 29; 1 Cor. 10. 33; Col. 1. 10 from consideration as containing merely the 'general,' or 'characteristic,' relative clause, says that Gothic shows only one true final relative clause, viz. Mk. 14. 14 *hvar sind salithwas, tharei paska mið siponjam meinaim matjau?* Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax*

i. 137) notes it in MHG.; e.g. Ot. i. 18. 33 farames then weg, ther unsih wente zi eiginemo lante. In Modern English and German it is rare, being chiefly poetic or archaic. E.g. Schickt einen sichern Boten ihm entgegen, der auf geheimem Weg ihn zu mir führe (Schiller). Gen. 11. 4 Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach into heaven.

The relative clause of purpose, then, is limited in the Germanic field and seems to be due to Latin influence. Even in Old English, the branch of early Germanic that allows it perhaps most frequently, it is felt as unidiomatic. This is shown by the great number of Latin relative clauses of purpose which find expression in the Old English translation, not by the Old English relative clause, but by the native purely adverbial clause. Some examples of this are: BH. 56. 6 sendon Agustinum . . . ðæt he scolde . . . ðingian (=remittunt . . . qui obtineret. Id. 62. 30 sende ærendwrecan . . . ðæt heo scoldan secgan (=misit . . . qui . . . referrent. Id. 104. 21 ða heht Æðelberht . . . cirican getimbran . . . ðæt he . . . biscopsetl hæfde (=in qua locum sedis episcopalis . . . haberent. Id. 120. 25 wæs gehalgod to biscope Gode se leofe wer scs. Paulinus . . . to ðon ðæt he ða fæmnan . . . trymede (=ordinatus . . . qui . . . confirmaret. Laws 198. 24 (Æðelred, 979 A.D.) ælc freoman getreowne borh hæbbe, ðæt se borh hine to ælcon rihte gehealde (=habeat . . . plegium, qui eum . . . præsented. Others are: BH. 72. 16; 146. 15; 238. 22; 244. 28; 248. 11; 304. 20; 314. 18, 31; 320. 3; 322. 12; 382. 16; 388. 11, 21; 420. 8; 434. 27; 436. 6; 444. 16; 468. 8, 23; 496. 4, 13; O. 286. 10; 294. 12; Laws 66. 3; 154. 12; 290. 15; 376. 10; BR. 73. 21.

Below are given in full the adjective relative clauses in Old English that seem to contain a purpose idea, they being especially hard to differentiate. It will be noticed that frequently they are direct translations of a Latin relative clause of purpose, as is to be expected from what has been said above. They will be classed according to the case of the introductory relative pronoun, and sub-classed under the first and largest category with reference to the modal form of the verb, as follows:

A. The relative pronoun is in the nominative case (34).

1. The verb is the simple optative (15).

BH. 72. 15 ac ðe sculon . . . biscopas cuman, ða ðe æt biscopas halgunge . . . stonde (=veniunt . . . qui assistant. Id. 258. 23 heo hæfdon gearwe magistras, ða ðe heo lærdon (=magistros qui docerent. Id. 308. 2 he sealde him mæssepreost . . . se . . . Godes word and fulwihte bæð ðegnode (=dans illi presbyterum . . . qui . . . ministraret. Id. 340. 25 cwomon . . . sume broðor, ða ðe hyre forðfare sægdon (=venerunt . . . fratres qui . . . nunciarent. M. 21. 41 and gesett hys wingerd myd oðrum tilion, ðe him hys wæstm . . . agyton (=locabit . . . qui reddant. Lch. ii. 210. 1 óslege (*sic*) ðe ða wunde clænsien. Id. 210. 19 ærest him is to sellanne ðæt ðone innoð stille and smeðe. AEHi. 44. 26 ða setton hi lease gewitan, ðe hine forlugon and cwædon, ðæt he tallice word spræce. AEHii. 76. 5 witodlice næs nan heahfæder ne nan witega asend to hæðenum folce ðe heora gedwyld beloge. Id. 122. 8 and hine bæd, ðæt he Angelcynne sume lareowas asende, ðe hi to Criste gebigdon. LSi. 150. 56 he him sendan sceolde . . . sume munecas ðe him mynster-lif astealdon. Id. 404. 82 ðær nan feond ne cymð, ðe his frið awyrde. BIH. 207. 31 se biscop ða ðær gesette gode sangeras . . . ða ðær seoððan dæghwamlice . . . weorðode. BR. 99. 27 beon gesette an oððe (*sic*) twa ealde swustre . . . ðe ðæt mynster geondgangen and ðas gyman (=deputentur una vel due (*sic*) . . . que (*sic*) circumeant . . . et videant. Id. 137. 25 to ðes mynstres geate beo gesett an eald mynecene and wis, ðe wel cunne andsware gyfe (=que (*sic*) sciat . . . responsum . . . reddere.

2. *Magan* as auxiliary in the relative clause (8).

BH. 162. 21 se cyning . . . biscopas bede se ðe him meahte and his ðeode Cristes geleafan and fulwihte ðegnian and healdan (=rex . . . postulasset antistitem, qui . . . ministraret. Id. 254. 14 hwæðer he . . . meahte oðerne findan, ðe mon to biscoppe hadian meahte (=qui episcopus ordinaretur. AEHii. 142. 8 ac bæd ðæt he asende sumne broðer, ðe hire gerihta gedon mihte.

Id. 312. 29 and . . . biscop gehadode, ðe mihte behwyrfan ða halgan martiras. LSii. 128. 50 and him sumne lareow sendon ðe his leoda mihte to Gode geweman. Id. 178. 152 Godes ðeowas gehadode ðe ðam heofonlican Gode ðeowian mihton. Gen. 19. 31 and nan oðer wer ne belaf on ealre eorðan, ðe unc mage habban (= nullus . . . remansit . . . qui possit ingredi ad nos. Exod. 2. 7 wilt ðu ðæt ic ga and clipie ðe Ebreisc wif, ðæt ðis cild fedan mæge? (= vocem tibi mulierem Hebræam, quæ nutrire possit infantulum (v. p. 85, note 2).

3. *Sculan* as an auxiliary in the clause (6).

BH. 120. 25 wæs gehalgod . . . se leofa wer . . . se mid heo feran scolde (=ordinatur . . . vir . . . qui cum illa veniret. Id. 222. 6 se cyning him sealde feower mæssepreostas, ða sceoldon his ðeode fulwian. Id. 226. 22 diaconas halgode, ða ðe him . . . fulteman scolde (=decanos ordinavit qui . . . adjuvarent. Id. 374. 7 oððæt se biscop gecoren wære, seðe fore Cuðbyrhte gehalgod beon sceolde (=donec eligeretur, qui . . . ordinari deberet. Nic. 20. 7 hig ðær to his byrgene gesetton feower and feowertig cempena ðe ðone lichaman healdan sceoldon. Arch. 101. 318. 7 (L. 16. 19-31) hi habbað ðone lareow, Moysen and witegan, ðe him wyssian sceolon (v. p. 85, note 2).

4. The verb is in the indicative (5).

Once occurs an indicative in an Old English clause translating a Latin subjunctive of purpose, viz. *ÆHi.* 78. 15 of ðe cymð se Heretoga seðe gewylt and gewissað Israhela folc (=ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel (Matt. 2. 6). With this parallel in view, and considering the fact that the indicative mode sometimes occurs in the purpose clause (v. p. 116 ff.), I add the following as possible examples of purpose clauses: *ÆHi.* 34. 12 of ðe cymð se latteow ðe gewylt Israhela ðeoda. Id. 516. 26 ælcum geleaffullum men is engel to hyrde geset, ðe hine wið deofles syrwege gescylt, and on halgum mægnum gefultumað. Id. 534. 15 efne her is cumen an draca ðe me sceal forswelgan. LSii. 308. 22 ge him weardas settað ðe hi bewaciað wið ðeofas.

B. The relative pronoun is in the genitive case (2).

BH. 158. 9 bād he ðæt heo him biscop onsende, ðæs lare and ðegnunge Ongolðeode . . . ðæs Drihtenlecan geleafan gife leornade (=ut . . . mitteretur antistes, cujus doctrina . . . gens . . . disceret. Gen. 1. 11 spritte seo eorðe growende gærs and sæd wircende and æppelbære treow wæstm wircende . . . ðæs sæd sig on him silfum ofer eorðan (= germinet terra herbam virentem et facientem semen et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum . . . cujus semen in semetipso sit super terram.

C. The relative pronoun is in the dative case after a preposition (7).

OET. 392. Vesp. Ps. 142. 8 cuðne me doa weg in ðæm ic gonge (=notam mihi fac viam in qua ambulem. BH. 194. 27 wæs mynster getimbred in ðæm . . . dæghwamlice . . . bene and gebedo borene beon scoldon (=monasterium constructum est, in quo . . . preces offerri deberent. Id. 282. 12 he getimbrade . . . his sweostor . . . in stowe, in ðære heo meahte . . . lareow and fester-modor gestondan (=in quo ipsa . . . mater ac nutrix posset existere. Id. 396. 19 wæs him eac ðurh gegearwad and geworht, in ðære he forðfered bebyrged beon scolde (=loculus . . . erat præparatus in quo . . . condi deberet. Id. 396. 27 ða ðurh him biggesette, in ðære he . . . geseted beon scolde (=loculum, in quo . . . poni deberet. Dial. 65. 10 (*MS. H. only*) ðæt him God forgeafe mid hwam he mihte gestillan ðæs hatheortan mæssepreostes woffunga (=ut ei redderet unde presbyteri furentis insaniam mitigare potuisset. Add BH. 256. 34.

D. The relative pronoun is in the accusative case (3).

OET. 335. Vesp. Ps. 103. 9 gemære settes him ða hie ne ofergongað (=terminum posuisti eis quem non transgredientur. Deut. 1. 33 and mearcode ða stowa, ðe ge eowre geteld on slean sceoldon (=metatus est locum, in quo tentoria figere deberetis. HL. 139. 22 we eow . . . ðæt siðfæt ætwyen, ðe ge ðurh magon to ðam ecan life becumian.

E. The relative pronoun has the instrumental form (1).

In a charter of Edward the Confessor, found at Coventry

Minster, and published separately by W. DeGray Birch, London, 1889, at l. 4, occurs a unique blending, apparently, of the relative clause of purpose with the usual adverbial *ðæt*-clause of purpose, viz. *and ælmesdæden georne befellen, ðurh hwan ðæt he of symbænden hine selfne mote alyman (= alysan)*. Corruption of the MS. might be postulated here (and the MS., though clear, has several errors in spelling), were it not that Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 87) points out an exactly parallel construction in the *da mit daz* of Berthold von Regensburg, 32. 6. Luther's Bible also has *damit dass* not infrequently, and the compound is not unknown to even Low German. Therefore *ðurh hwan ðæt* is to be considered as syntactic confusion, rather than as an error of the scribe.

NOTE 1. The following sentence may contain a clause of purpose intent introduced by the relative adverb *ðær*: BH. 211. 8 *ðæt he ure saula gelæde on gefean, ðær hie motan blissian abuton ende on ecnesse*.

NOTE 2. Closely akin to the relative clause of purpose and sometimes almost blending with it is the relative clause of result, or characteristic, also an imitation of the Latin. Some examples are: BH. 52. 33 *ne wæs ænig se ðe bebyrignyse sealde (= nec erat qui . . . sepulturæ traderet. Id. 86. 15 oðer sacerð . . . ne bið se ðe . . . ðæt geryne . . . gegearwie. Id. 86. 16 gif ðær oðre seon, ðe ða ðegnunge gefyllan mægge (= nam si adsunt alii, qui implere ministerium valeant. Id. 212. 24 ðis syndon ða fyr ða ðe middangeard wæron forbærnende and forneomende (= hos esse ignes, qui mundum succedentes essent consumturi. Id. 326. 10 gif he hwær ænigne freond metan meahte, ðe his gymenne dyde and his wunda læcnian wolde (= sicubi amicos, qui sui curam agerent, posset invenire. ÆHii. 40. 8 Johannes cwæð be Criste ðæt he wære Godes Lamb, se ðe ætbrude middan-eardes synna. Id. 400. 25 ðær næs nan man ðe ðone hlaf him betwynnan tobræce (= nec erat qui frangerit eis (Lament. 4. 4).*

### *Supplementary.*

*Ðæt* as an Apparent Relative Pronoun Introducing a Purpose Clause (11).

In eleven instances the form *ðæt* of the relative pronoun, occurring irrespective of the case, gender or number of its antecedent, introduces a relative clause of purpose. This last is in six sentences the construction in the Latin original. The sentences are:—

## 1. Translating a Latin relative clause of purpose.

Exod. 10. 25 wilt ðu us syllan offrunga, ðæt we bringon urum Gode? (= holocausta da nobis, quæ offeramus. Id. 23. 20 nu ic sende minne engel ðæt ðe læde (=mittam angelum meum qui introducet (*sic*). Id. 32. 1 wirce us godas, ðæt faron beforan us (=fac nobis deos, qui nos præcedant. Lev. 26. 22 and ic sende on eow wildeor, ðæt forspillon eow (=inmittam . . . quæ consumant. Num. 13. 3 ceos ðe menn, ðæt magon sceawigean ðone eard (=mitte viros qui considerent terram. Deut. 1. 22 uton sendan sceaweras, ðæt sceawion ðæt land (=mittamus viros, qui considerent terram.

## 2. Examples apparently independent of Latin influence.

O. 72. 15 Romane curon III. hund cempa and siex, ðæt sceolde to anwige gangan. Id. 154. 16 ðæt wæron ða ðe hie gesett hæfdon ðæt sceoldon be heora wifum bearna stienan ðonne hie on gewin foron. John 14. 16 he sylð eow oðerne frefriend ðæt beo æfre mid eow (=paracletum dabit vobis ut maneat. BIH. 247. 24 send ðinne ðone Halgan Gast, ðæt awece ealle. Num. 11. 13 hwanon sceolde me cuman flæsc, ðæt ic sylle ðison folce? (= unde mihi carnes, ut dem.

NOTE. A similar construction in a relative clause of characteristic after a general negative is: HL. 166. 61 nys nænig man, ðæt ascegan mage ða miltse . . .

Further study of the phenomenon in all subordinate clauses in Old English might show that the Modern English relative pronoun *that*, standing for all genders, numbers and cases, was materially influenced by the analogy of the conjunction *ðæt*.

Another possible explanation, but in view of the Latin relative clauses translated above one not so probable, is to consider *ðæt* a pure adverbial conjunction of purpose with omission of pronominal subject or object within the clause. A pronominal *nominative* would be required in all the above examples except Exod. 10. 25 and Num. 11. 13. These would require a pronoun *object* to be implied if *ðæt* be considered a conjunction.

For the reasons adduced, this latter explanation seems to me

the less likely, although Behaghel, *Syn. des Hel.* pp. 328-329, explains in this way the similar phenomenon in the Heliand, e.g. 12 and 1228.

#### IV. INDIRECT INTERROGATIVE OBJECT CLAUSES OF PURPOSE AFTER *HU* AND *HWÆÐER* (22)

An object clause of indirect question, especially after verbs of striving, seeking, planning, attempting, may be looked upon as the end of action and hence appear as final. Here we find two introductory interrogative particles (A) *hu* and (B) *hwæðer*.

A. The object clause is preceded by *hu*, of manner, as in L. 22. 6 he sohte hu he eaðelicust hine . . . geſealde (= quærebat oportunitatem (*sic*) ut traderet illum (20).

Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 98) notes in Otfrid and in Berthold von Regensburg object clauses after verbs of mental striving, 'berathen, überlegen, anweisen, etc.,' introduced by *wie* and *wie daz*, which become virtually final in meaning. E.g. *B. von Reg.* 489. 5 er satzte allen sinen fliz unde sine ahte, wie er den rehten kristenglouben moehte gehoehe. Modern English sometimes shows *how* passing into purpose function after expressions of caution, which imply striving, such as: beware, be chary, take heed, have a care, &c. But here the negative idea of the main verb has passed into the *how*-clause, making this negative as well: e.g. A wise horseman should take care how he pull the rein too tight.

The object-clauses with *hu* in Old English that seem to pass into the function of purpose are as follows:

1. After verbs of striving, seeking, planning, &c. (14).

(a) *secan* (6).

PPs. 37. 12 and mine sawle seceað hu hy magon yfel don (= qui quærebant animam meam et qui inquirebant mala mihi. Bo. 89. 7 sece him freodom hu he mæge becuman to ðam gesælðum. CP. 226. 13 sætað ðonne digelice and secð hu he

hiene mæge gefon (= ad exercendas occulte insidias exardescit. Dial. 28. 7 ðu secest nu beladunge hu ðu mage ðæt findan. BR. 121. 7 ne hi nefre nænne intingan ne secean, hu hig hyre to syndrium ehtum gerimed beo. See L. 22. 6 *supra*.

(b) cepan (2).

LSi. 386. 36 he cepte symle hu he cwemde Gode. Id. 322. 48 ða hæðenan cepton hu hi hine acwealdon.

(c) cunnian (2).

LSi. 286. 54 he cunnað . . . hu he mæge tobræcan ða gebedu. LSii. 328. 201 cunnodon mid cræfte hu hi in cumon mihton.

(d) sierwan (2).

O. 52. 3 he angan sierwan . . . hu he hiene beswican mehte. LSi. 256. 317 hi syrwdon mid sweartum geðance hu hi Crist acwealdon.

NOTE. The object-clause with *hu* after *smeagan* is closely related to the construction here. E.g. Bo. 7. 17 ða ongan he smeagan and leornigan on him selfum hu he ðæt rice ðam unrihtwisan cyninge aferran mihte. LSii. 290. 1148 smeade se halga wer hu he heora gehelpen mihte. Add LSi. 196. 8; LSii. 318. 57.

(e) efsan (1).

BR. 145. 13 ælc efste myd arwurdnesse (*sic*) . . . hu heo oðre on halige ðeudome forðeon mage.

(f) fandian (1).

HL. 195. 5 deofol is swyðe swicol and fandiende hu he mage ða earman saule . . . beswicon.

2. After verbs of directing, showing, &c. (3).

(a) gestihtan (1).

LSii. 192. 26 he ða gestihte his werod . . . hu hi on ðone huntað fon sceoldon.

(b) wisian (1).

Inst. 436. xxii. riht is ðæt gehadode men ðam læwedum wisian hu hi heora æwe rihtlicost sculon healdan.

(c) læran (1).

Hex. 32. 21 ic wylle ðe . . . læran ðæt gastlice gewinn hu ðu Gode campie.

3. *Hu* occurs once after *carian*, which is usually followed by

a *ðæt*-clause: *ÆHii.* 78. 2 *ða ðe cariað mid wacelum mode hu hi oðra manna sawla Gode gestrynan.*

4. Once after an expression of readiness, which is also usually followed by a *ðæt*-clause (*v. ÆHi.* 600. 29; *BlH.* 247. 32). The sentence is: *LSi.* 132. 238 *bið se deofol geare hu he him derige.*

5. Finally, after *swician* (1).

*LSi.* 352. 220 *swicað se deofol digollice embe us hu he ðurh leahtras forlære ða cristenan.*

NOTE. In three instances *hu* stands in place of the usual *ðæt* in certain of the prepositional compounds, giving the formulæ *to ðon . . . hu*, *ymb ðæt hu*, *æfter ðæm hu*, as follows:

1. *to ðon . . . hu.* *O.* 54. 23 and *geworhte anes fearres anlicnesse of are to ðon, ðonne hit hat wære and mon ða earman men oninnan don wolde, hu se hlynn mæst wære (= fecit . . . ut . . . sonum vocis augetur (v. p. 79, a).*

2. *ymb ðæt hu.* *CP.* 238. 21 *hie swuncon ymb ðæt hu hie meahthen gesyngian (= ut peccent laborant (v. pp. 52, 77).*

3. *æfter ðæm hu.* *Bo.* 76. 26 *ne swincð he nauht æfter ðæm hu he fore-mærost sie (= de potentia nihil laborat (v. p. 53).*

B. Twice in the Translations *hwæðer* has been noted after *secan* introducing an object clause of indirect question, which passes into purpose. Here the Latin formula is *si (forte)*. *BH.* 326. 28 *ða cwom he and sohte in ðæm wæle his lic, hwæðer he hit findan meahthe (= venit quærere si forte corpus ejus invenire posset. Dial.* 199. 3 *sohton hweðer hi findan mihton ænig tacen (= exquirentes si quod signum . . . monstrari . . . potuisset.*

## V. RESULT AND CONDITIONAL PARTICLES INTRODUCING THE PURPOSE CLAUSE (9)

Very rarely the result formula *swa ðæt* and the conditional words, *gif* and *buton ðæt*, which last follows a negative verb, introduce a clause containing something of final intent.

A. *Swa ðæt*: purpose blending with result (4).

*ÆHi.* 596. 10 *orsorh and blissigende ic cume to ðe, swa ðæt ðu me blissigende underfo. Id.* 604. 5 *uton awurpan ðeostra*

weorc, and beon ymbscopydde mid leohtes wæpnum, swa ðæt we on dæge arwurðlice faron (= abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamur arma lucis. Sicut in die honeste ambulamus. *ÆHii.* 252. 20 and betæhte hine ða to heora benum, swa ðæt he wælhreawlice wurde ahangen. *Thorpe translates, 'and delivered him to their prayers, so that he should cruelly be hanged.'* *Id.* 546. 8 ac us gedafenað ðæt we mid wacelum eagam ðas ðreo gemetu behealdon, swa ðæt we nateshwon ne ceorion ongean Godes swinglum . . .

B. Purpose blending with condition (5).

1. The clause is introduced by *gif* (cf. *conor si* of Latin) (3).

*LSii.* 48. 732 geornlice mid his eagna scearpnyssum hawigende ge on ða swiðran healfe ge on ða wynstran, swa swa se gleawesta hunta, gif he ðær mihte ðæs (*sic*) sweteste wildeor gegripan. Or by the combination *gif wen wære ðæt*, translating *nisi forte*: *BH.* 408. 25 to ðæm se forespræcana Cristes cæmpa ymbliðendre Breotene utan cuman wolde, gif wen wære ðæt he ðær hwelce meahte diofle oðgripan and to Criste gecerran (= venire . . . disposuit, si quos forte . . . transferre valeret. *Id.* 414. 17 cuomon hio to Ealdseaxna mægðe gif wen wære ðæt hi ðær ænige ðurh heora lare Criste begytan mihte (= venerunt . . . si forte aliquos . . . acquirere possent. These sentences show a blending of 'in the hope that' with 'in the case that,' and express the purpose idea with modesty or mark it as doubtful of fulfilment (cf. p. 90, 2).

NOTE. That *si forte* could be felt with final force in OE. appears from the following sentence, where it is translated by a *ðæt* of purpose: *Gen.* 16. 2 nim nu mine ðinene to ðinum bedde, ðæt ic huru underfo sum fostercild of hyre (= ingredere ad ancillam meam, si forte saltem ex illa suscipiam filios.

2. The clause is introduced by *buton ðæt*, translating *nisi ut* after a negative verb (2).

*Bo.* 20. 24 se deað ne cymð to nanum oðrum ðingum butan ðæt he ðæt lif afyrre. *John* 10. 10 ðeof ne cymð buton ðæt he stele and slea and fordo (= fur non venit nisi ut furetur. Here *buton* is conditional (cf. *John* 3. 2 ne mæg nan man ðas tacn wyrcan ðe ðu wyrcest, buton God beo mid him), and the

*ðæt* is final. Logically expanded, the words would stand 'ne cymð buton *he cume* *ðæt* . . .' Ellipsis of the verb after *buton* is demanded, since this is only a repetition of the verb before *buton*: then blending of condition with purpose results.

NOTE. The temporal *oð* seems to border very closely upon a purpose relation in Gen. 44. 12 *he sohte fram ðam yldestan oð ðone gyngestan oð he funde ðone læfyl on Benjamines sacce.* Cf. Erdmann, *Deutsche Syntax*, i. 140.

## VI. PARATACTIC CLAUSES OF FINAL INTENT

What is logically a subordinate element of purpose, as is shown in many cases by Latin originals, may sometimes stand grammatically independent in parataxis, or co-ordinate construction, without any introductory formula whatever. This can occur only when the two clauses in parataxis, the logical main clause and the logical final clause, are positive and have one and the same subject. Also the predicate of this logical main clause is usually a verb of motion. Two separate categories are to be distinguished here, as follows:

A. In the first, the purpose clause contains no auxiliary. The verb stands in the simple indicative, optative or imperative, as the case may be, and in the present tense. This form of parataxis is not different from that noted at length under the Simple Infinitive of Purpose (v. p. 12, n. 2). Hence one or two examples for illustration must suffice here, viz. *ÆHi.* 30. 29 *uton faran to Bethleem and geseon* *ðæt* word. *Exod.* 33. 2 and *ic sende minne engel beforan* *ðe* and *drife ut* (= *mittam . . . ut ejiciam*).

B. The second category always takes the auxiliary *willan* in the purpose clause, and this is always in the preterite tense, *wolde(-on)*. As noted above, there is no change of subject between the clauses. That the second clause in parataxis had full purpose intent may be seen from the following parallels of *M.* 25. 10 *Ἀπερχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγοράσαι, ἦλθεν ὁ νυμφίος* (= *dum autem irent emere venit sponsus* (= *witodlice* *ða hig ferdun* and *woldon bycgean, ða com se brydguma* (*Lind.*

= geeodon to bycganne; *Rush.* = eodon bycgan). *Wycliffe and Tyndale* = whyl they went (for) to bye; *Luther* = und da sie hingingen zu kaufen. See under *willan* as auxiliary, pages 114 ff.

The occurrences of a purpose idea in a paratactic clause with *wolde(-on)* are as follows:—CP. 366. 3 hie snidon ða Galatiscan wif ðe bearneacne wæron, and woldon mid ðy geryman biora landgemæru (= secuerunt pręgnantes Galaad ad dilatandum terminum suum (Amos 1. 13). John 7. 1 ða Judeas hine sohton and woldon hyne ofslean (= quęrebant eum Iudęi interficere (*Lind. and Rush.* = to acwellanne). Mart. 8. 3 ða leton hie his lichaman licgan buton Hierusalem ðære ceastre, ond woldon ðæt hine fuglas tobæron. Id. 62. 3 and hi ðær to urnon, ond woldon mid wætre dwęscan ðone bryne æfter monna ðeawe. *ÆHii.* 72. 18 se ðe ferde on ærnemerigen, and wolde hyrian wyrhtan (*WS. Version* = ðe on ærne mergen uteode *ahyrrian* wyrhtan) (= qui exiit primo mane *conducere* operarios (M. 20. 1). Arch. 102. 37. 16 astah ana up to anre dune and wolde hine gebiddan (= *W.S. Version* M. 14. 23 he eode on ðone munt, and hyne ðær ana gebæd (= ascendit in montem solus *orare*).

In the following, the logical subordination of the second clause is felt so clearly that *and* is omitted: John 4. 7 ða com an wif of Samaria, wolde wæter feccan (= venit mulier de S. haurire aquam (*Lind. and Rush.* = to hladdanne). *LSi.* 398. 242 ða sende se cyning sona fiftig manna to ðam Godes witegan, wolde hine gelangian. *LSii.* 102. 530 betwux ðysum ferde se foresæde Antiochus to Persiscre ðeode mid micclum ðrymme, wolde ðær oferwinnan sume welige burh. Id. 146. 36 he swanc ða git swiðor, wolde geswutelian his mihte. Id. 158. 3 se ferde to franc-lande mid mycelre fyrdinge, wolde gewyldan mid wige ða leoda. Id. 188. 322 ða bæron ða hæðenan cwelleras ðæra halgena lic sona to scipe, woldon hi besencan on flode. Id. 210. 329 ða cyrde he eft ongean, wolde feccan me.

## THE NEGATIVE CLAUSE OF PURPOSE

Purpose clauses in Old English are negated in two ways<sup>1</sup>, appearing as follows:

I. Introduced by the usual connectives, e.g. *ðæt*, *to ðon ðæt*, &c., and negated by *ne* (*nā*) placed just before the finite verb (298).

II. Introduced and at the same time negated by *ðylæs* or *ðy læs ðe* (334).

As the figures in ( ) show, both are regular, and it may be seen from the chart in the Appendix that each is evenly distributed as to authorship, chronology, dialect, &c. The two methods differ but slightly, just how will be seen below (p. 98), one construction sometimes even running into the other. E.g.

CP. 40. 4 and *ða untrymnesse hira heortan ic wolde getrymman and gestiran . . .* *ðæt hira nan ne durre gripan swæ orsorglice on ðæt rice and on ðone lareowdom, ðylæs ða gongen on swæ frecne stige ða ðe ne magon uncwaciende gestondan on emnum felda.* Id. 461. 31 *ac him is ðonne micel ðearf ðæt he hine hrædlice selfne gewundige . . .* *ðylæs he weorðe upahæfen for his wordum; ðætte ðær ðær he oðer(ra) monna wunda lacnað, he self ne weorðe ađiunden.* Cf. also L. 21. 34: John 5. 14; 12. 42 for examples where the Northumbrian glosses give *ðætte* . . . *ne*, for the WS. *ðylæs* (*ðe*).

#### I. Clauses negated by *ne* (*nā*) (298).

Here stand clauses introduced as are the positive clauses discussed above and differing from them only in the insertion of the usual negation-particle, *ne* (*nā*), always just before the finite verb; e.g. Gen. 42. 2 and *bicgað us mete ðæt we ne forwurðon* (= *emite . . . ut possimus vivere; or with intensified negation*,

<sup>1</sup> Once (OET. 200. Vesp. Ps. 12. 4) we note OE. *ne* introducing a negative clause of purpose. The glossator was here only carelessly misled by the Latin *ne*, viz. *inliht eagan min ne æfre ic aslepe in deaðe, ne æfre cweðe feond min* (= *inlumina oculos meos ne unquam obdormiam in mortem, ne quando dicat inimicus meus*).

Deut. 25. 15 hæbbe ælc man rihtne anmittan . . . *ðæt* hig *naðer* *ne* sin *ne* læssan *ne* maran. In one case *na* has been found instead of *ne*, viz. Chron. 209. 1 (MS. E) *ða* munecas wiðstoden *ðæt* hi na mihton incumen.

Examples of the other introductory formulæ in clauses negated by *ne* are:

1. to *ðon* (*ðæm*) *ðæt* . . . *ne*: CP. 385. 1 Crist . . . sealde bisene *ðæm* lareowum to *ðæm* *ðæt* *ða* unlæredan *ne* scoldon læran. Dial. 277. 10 hi geseoð in heora deaðe *ða* gesihðe haligra foregangendra weras to *ðon* *ðæt* hi heom *ne* ondrædon. Add O. 264. 12: Dial. 256. 27; 381. 6.

2. for *ðon* (*ðæm*) *ðæt*(*te*) . . . *ne*: CP. 184. 20 and siððan gehierde his agne scylde forðæm *ðæt* he eft *ne* meahte *ðæm* ilcan dome wiðcweðan. Id. 218. 4 holh wæs beboden *ðæt* sceolde beon on *ðæm* weobude uppan, forðæm *ðæt* wind *ne* meahte *ða* lac tostencan. Add id. 76. 10; 220. 20; 451. 3; 459. 1; and see for *ðon ðe* . . . *ne*, LSi. 108. 331.

3. wið *ðon ðe* . . . *ne*: Lch. ii. 156. 5 (v. p. 74).

wið *ðæt* . . . *ðæt* . . . *ne*: Sol. 68. 5 (v. p. 75).

wið *ðæt* . . . *ne*: Lch. i. 214. 24; 224. 18 (v. p. 77).

## II. Clauses introduced negatively by *ðy læs* (*ðe*) (334).

Here *læs* contains the negative idea, and *ðy* is used relatively<sup>1</sup> with conjunctive force, the combination being exactly parallel to *quo minus* of the Latin. See Skeat's *Etymological Dict.* and the *New English Dict.* s. v. 'lest.'

NOTE. It is interesting to see that just as OE. uses *ðy læs* to introduce a negative purpose clause, so does OS. sometimes allow *the mēr*, 'the more,' to introduce a positive one; e.g. Hel. 529<sup>2</sup> sia hietun im thuo te hoske huit giuadi umbi is lithi leggian, thiū mer hie uurthi them liudion thar iungon te gamne.

Here we must make two categories:

1. clauses with *ðy læs*, earlier usage (214).

2. clauses with *ðy læs ðe*, later usage (120).

<sup>1</sup> For *ðyles* used demonstratively, cf. ÆHii. 538. 6 ure Drihten foresæde *ða* toweardan frecednyssa . . . *ðæt* hi *ðy læs* manna mod gedrefon.

1. *ðy læs* (214).

As may readily be seen from the chart in Appendix I, this form, without an appended *ðe*, is the logical and the earlier one. It is found in Ælfred 118 times, while Ælfric, with whom *ðy læs ðe* is regular (v. p. 96), shows it only 11 times. It persists all through the Old English period, but is rare in the later writings; it is distinctive of early usage.

The spelling *ðy læs* is the rule, occurring 166 times, of which Ælfred contains 114. *Ði læs* is found 6 times, 3 of which are in Ælfred and 2 in Ælfric.

The form *ðe læs* occurs 40 times. It is best illustrated in the Bible translations. The WS. Gospels, where this spelling is the rule, show it 17 times, and Hept. comes next in order with 8 occurrences. Since this is the only one of Ælfric's writings that has the form *ðe læs* at all (except Coll. 91. 7), it is easy to suspect that in his Old Testament translations he was adopting what was already in his time the more archaic *ðe læs* of the WS. Gospels. As will be seen below, Ælfric almost always used *ðy læs ðe* (cf. p. 96).

NOTE 1. Twice in CP. we find the formula *ðy læs . . . ne*, viz. 246. 15 *eac sint to manianne ða halan ðæt hie Gode wilnigen to licianne ða hwile ðe hie mægen*, *ðylæs hie eft ne mægen*, *ðonne hie willen* (= *admonendi sunt ne placere Deo si cum possunt noluerint, cum voluerint sero non possint*. 372. 6 and *hafa hie ðeah ðe anum, ðylæs elðiodige hie ne* (*MS. Halton omits*) *dælen wið ðe* (= *habeto eas solus, nec sint alieni participes tui* (Prov. 5. 17). However, the first sentence hardly contains a purpose clause, and *ne* of the second is obviously a scribal error.

NOTE 2. Twice after a clause interjected after *ðe læs*, we find the construction resumed with the formula *ðæt . . . ne*, viz. BH. 76. 25 *buton ænigre ældenne is to gebeorene and to gefremmenne, ðy læs, gif hwylc lytel ælding sy, ðætte ne mægge gemeted beon se ðe alesed si* (= *providenda est . . . ne inveniri non valeat, qui redimatur*. Mart. 210. 27 *heo wyscte ðæt heo nanne næfter hyre ne forlæte ðe læs, gif hyra hwylc wære hyre oferstealla, ðæt se ne myhte on heofenum beon hyre efnegemacca*.

NOTE 3. Once is noted the chance spelling *ðe leas*, viz. Gen. 3. 22. *ðe les* occurs Sol. 15. 10.

2. *ðy (ðe) læs ðe* (120).

This form, with appended *ðe* of relative origin (cf. *ðætte*, p. 59),

is almost a sure criterion of lateness. See chart in Appendix I. Not a single instance<sup>1</sup> occurs in all the writings of Ælfred; while Ælfric, with whom this is the rule, shows 95 instances, as opposed to 11 occurrences of the forms without the appended *ðe*. This will be apparent from the chart in Appendix I.

In the writings that may with the greatest probability be placed chronologically speaking near Ælfred, viz. Gregory's Dialogues and the WS. Gospels, a word must be said with regard to the use or non-use of the appended *ðe* after *ðy læs*, viz.

(a) The earlier MS. C.<sup>2</sup> of the Dialogues has 14 instances of *ðy læs* without variation, while the later MS. H. in three places (35. 28; 59. 24; 80. 32) has *ðy læs ðe* (which we have seen to be the later formula) as a variant of the older MS. C.

(b) Of the WS. Gospels, Matthew and John stand together in that they alone contain the later formula *ðy læs ðe*. On the other hand, Mark and Luke agree in that they show 9 cases of the earlier *ðy læs* and not one of the later *ðy læs ðe*. This tends to corroborate A. Drake's theory that Matthew and John stand together as opposed to Mark and Luke. (See Bibliography in Appendix VI. and cf. *ZfdPh.* 29. 139.) The relation of *ðy læs* to *ðy læs ðe* in Matthew and John is as follows:

M. *ðy læs* = 5 times: *ðy læs ðe* = 4 times (4. 6; 5. 25; 20. 28; 25. 9).

John *ðy læs* = once: *ðy læs ðe* = once (5. 14).

Variations in the spelling of the instrumental form before *læs* may be seen at length in the chart in Appendix I. Some generalizations that may be put here follow:

(a) *ðy læs ðe*, the logical spelling, occurs 44 times, 36 of which are in ÆHi. and ÆHii.

(b) *ði læs ðe* is found sporadically 13 times.

(c) *ðe læs ðe* occurs 53 times, 31 of which are in Ælfric.

<sup>1</sup> Except a single *ðy læst* in Sol. 49. 1. This, however, is a late form in a MS. of the twelfth century; cf. Hulme, *Engl. Stud.* 18, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> For the relation of these MSS. to one another, see Hecht's ed. of Dial., pp. vii-xi.

From this we see the order of relative frequency of these three forms to be: *ðe læs ðe* (53), *ðy læs ðe* (44), *ði læs ðe* (13). This varies from the order found among the earlier forms, without appended *ðe*; viz. *ðy læs* (166), *ðe læs* (40); *ði læs* (6). Cf. also to *ðy ðæt*, for *ðy ðæt* with to *ði ðæt*, for *ði ðæt* (v. p. 66, b).

NOTE. Other chance variations of spelling are :

1. *ðe les ðe*. Job 1. 5 offrode Gode . . . *ði les ðe hi wið God . . . agylton*. BR. 125. 7 *ðæt heo ðanan gewite, ðeles ðe heo mid hyre yrmðe ðæ odre (sic) geleaftrige*.

2. *ðæ læs ðe*. BR. 121. 12 sy ealle ða æhte, *ðe ðam cilde gebyrige, swa forðlygode and todelode, ðæt him nan hiht ne ðurfe beon, ðælæs ðe hit losige: and ði læs ðæ*, BR. 133. 3 and na oferswyðe ne ðreage, *ðilæs ðæ ðat rustige fæt mid ealle toberste*.

3. *ðe læsse ðe*. Lch. iiii. 92. 25 wyl on an niwen crocen, *næs to swiðe, ðe læsse ðe ele his mægn forleaosen*. Here the spelling *læsse* is probably due to confusion with the neuter of the adjective comparative form *læssa*. Another instance of similar confusion, not however in a formula of purpose, is: CP. 74. 14 and ðeah for ðara bisgunge ne sie his giemen no *ðy læsse ymb ða gehiersuman*.

In the later MSS., as the chart in Appendix I shows, we begin to find not infrequently assimilation of the appended *-ðe* to *-te*, giving the formula *ðe læste* (3) or *ðy læst* (1); viz. Wulf. 300. 27 ne nænne man ne læte unbisceopod to lange, *ðe læste him forðsið getimige*. BR. 63. 10 and nane seax be heora syðan (*sic*) nabban, *ðe læste hy on slæpe gewundede weorðan* (= non habeant . . . ne forte . . . vulnerentur. Id. 69. 27 heo gewite, *ðelæste an adlig sceap ealle heorde besmite* (= discedat, ne . . . contaminet. The spelling *ðy læst* is found sporadically, due perhaps to the manuscript corruption, in Sol. 49. 1 *ðu hæst (sic) me forlætan ða unrottnesse ðy læst ic . . . ðy met-trumra si*.

After the form *ðe læste*, the next stage comes with the loss of the prefixed *ðe*, which was originally organic and essential to the conjunctive force of the compound. The result is *læste* (2), which passes into the later and yet extant form *lest*. See Mätzner, *Engl. Gram.* i. 462; also Skeat's *Etymological Dict.* and the *New Eng. Dict.* s.v. 'lest.' The instances of *læste* found in Old English are: BR. 23. 24 ne sceal non swerie, *læste hyre*

gelympe ðat hu (*sic*) forswerie (= non jurare, ne forte perjuret. BR. 29. 33 ðat beo ðonne geaxsod of ðare ealdre . . . læste heo mare spæce ðenne hit fremye (= requirantur, ne videatur plus loqui quam expedit.

NOTE. The earlier version of BR., 'Æthelwold's,' shows only the form *ðy læs* (*ðe*).

To sum up in a sentence the evolution of the Modern English *lest* as we have traced it. the stages are as follows:

1. *ðy* (*ðe*, *ðr*) *læs* = Ælfredian usage.
2. *ðe* (*ðy*, *ðr*) *læs* *ðe* = Ælfrician usage.
3. *ðe læste* = Wulf. 300. 27 and BR. 63. 10; 69. 27.
4. *læste* = BR. 23. 24; 29. 33.
5. *lest*.

Rhetorically considered, the purpose clause negatived by *læs* in the combination *ðy læs* (*ðe*) differs from that whose negative is *ne*, in that it denotes the purpose, not as a negative action or state, but as something feared or not desired<sup>1</sup>. The clause is conceived as *non-optative* merely, and hence only the simple optative mood (p. 100) as a rule stands in a clause introduced by *ðy læs* (*ðe*). Out of 334 such clauses only 6 admit an auxiliary verb, viz.

1. Magan (3). PPs. 9. 18 aris, Dryhten, *ðy læs* se yfel-willenda mæge don ðæt he wille (= exurge, Domine, non prævaleat homo. PPs. 37. 16 næfre mine fynd ne gefægen æfter me, *ðy læs* hi mægan sprecan gemetlico word. ÆHii. 262.

<sup>1</sup> *ðy læs*, by an easy extension of this function, already in OE., is found after (*on*)*drædan*, introducing an object clause; e.g. BH. 294. 25 ða ongon ðæs cynelecan modes monn him ondrædan . . . *ðy læs* he owiht unwyrðes dyde (= timere cepit . . . ne . . . aliquid indignum . . . proferet. Also Inst. 472, *top*. (*On*)*drædan* is usually followed by an object clause with *ðæt*, not *ðy læs*; e.g. O. 48. 16; 144. 16; 150. 8; Gen. 27. 12; Num. 12. 8; or by the infin.; e.g. BH. 492. 37; 591. 5. Cf. in this connection *Macbeth* 2. 1 hear not my steps *for fear* thy very stones prate of my whereabouts.

*ðy læs* also introduces an object clause after *gyman*, which usually is followed by a *ðæt*-clause (see CP. 326. 13; Wulf. 52. 14; 112. 15; BR. 99. 28), viz. Dial. 106. 12 he gymde *ðy læs* his agenra ðearfa and wenunga hine selfne forlete.

19 nu wille we . . . gewissian eower andgit ymbe ðære gerynu . . . ðy læs ðe ænig twyning eow derian mage.

2. Sculan (3). CP. 326. 12 eac sint to manianne ða ðe nu hiora mildheortlice sellað, ðæt hie geornlice giemen ðæt hie eft ða synne ne gefremmen ðe hie nu mid hiora ælmessan aliesað, ðy læs hie eft scylen don ðæt selfe (= admonendi sunt etiam qui jam sua misericorditer largiuntur, ut sollicitè custodire studeant, ne cum commissa peccata eleemosynis redimunt, adhuc redimenda committant. Inst. 445. xxiii. we sceolon beorcan and bodigan ðam læwedun, ðe læs ðe hy for lar-lyste losian sceoldon. Add ÆHii. 162. 35.

On the other hand, it will be seen from the chart in Appendix I that clauses negated with *ne* take the so-called modal auxiliaries almost as freely as do the positive clauses (see p. 100, table), exact figures for those introduced by *ðæt* and negated by *ne* being: simple opt. = 178; *magan* = 16; *sculan* = 8; *motan* = 2.

To summarize what is perhaps practical in the above study of the negative clause of purpose, we have the following statements, viz.

(a) The formula *ðy læs* is for the most part early usage, while *ðy læs ðe* is only late.

(b) The clause with *ðy læs* (*ðe*) almost never contains one of the modal auxiliaries.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MODE OF THE PURPOSE CLAUSE

As to the mode of the verb in the purpose clause, we find:

I. The simple optative.

II. The optative of the modal auxiliaries, *magan*, *sculan*, *motan*, *willan*, + the infinitive.

III. The indicative.

This order will be followed in the discussion below.

## I. THE SIMPLE OPTATIVE (2211)

The simple optative is by far the most common usage in the Old English final clause. Considering the two predominant clause-types, viz. the clauses introduced by *ðæt* and those with the *to*-formulae (pp. 64 ff.), we find in regard to the relative frequency of the simple optative and of the modal auxiliaries the following:

Of <i>ðæt</i> -clauses,	2041	take the simple optative.
" "	393	" modal auxiliary.
Of <i>to</i> . . . <i>ðæt</i> -clauses,	174	" simple optative.
" " "	92	" modal auxiliary.

(These figures do not include the instances with the indicative, pp. 116 ff.)

Hence we see that in the Old English purpose clause the simple optative is about four times as frequent as the modal auxiliary. That this ratio is fairly constant throughout the whole of the Old English period, may be readily seen from the chart in Appendix I: though it appears there that *Ælfric* uses relatively somewhat fewer auxiliaries than does *Ælfred*, viz.

*Ælfred* = 153 opt. : 125 aux. *Ælfric* = 501 opt. : 188 aux.  
It is also worth noting, perhaps, that the WS. Gospels, which rarely allow another introductory word than *ðæt* (v. p. 65), give the ratio, 219 opt. : 17 aux.<sup>1</sup> This adherence to the simple optative is due to timid translation of the Latin simple subjunctive.

As to syntactic function, the simple optative denotes a purpose conceived merely as optative, wished for, striven for, and hence as a motive, with reference to the action of the main verb. Merely the adverbial relation of one clause to another is thought of. But the use of one of the modal auxiliaries means that, in addition to this simple adverbial relation, more or less stress is thrown upon the modality under which the action of the final clause is conceived. This modality is explained in the sections immediately following.

<sup>1</sup> This total ratio is distributed among the four Evangelists as follows: M. 41 opt. : 3 aux.; Mk. 36 : 1; L. 76 : 0; John 69 : 13.

## II. THE MODAL AUXILIARIES (483)

We have seen that about one-fourth of the final clauses in Old English have, instead of the simple optative such as is the usage in Latin and Gothic for instance, circumlocutions consisting of the so-called modal auxiliaries + the infinitive of the verb. These are *magan*, *sculan*, *motan*, *willan*, named in order of frequency of occurrence. This ratio will be seen from the chart to be fairly constant throughout the Old English period.

These auxiliaries in final clauses divide themselves into two classes: *magan*, on the one hand, and *sculan*, *motan*, *willan*, on the other—a division based upon the objective or the subjective conception of the conditions under which the finality in the clause is to be attained.

Therefore, *magan* in the purpose clause denotes that the end of action is conceived in relation, not to the psychological, but to the material circumstances that attend its actual accomplishment. *Sculan*, *motan*, *willan*, on the other hand, denote that the purpose to be effected is thought of, not with reference to the external forces that accompany its fulfilment, but that it is considered in its relation to the will of the agent of the purpose, that is, of the logical subject<sup>1</sup> of the final clause. These auxiliaries occur when the psychical genesis and trend of the purpose idea is more prominent in the mind of the writer than is its actual accomplishment in the face of objective surroundings, obstacles, adverse circumstances, &c. Hence, *sculan*, *motan*, and *willan* denote subjective conception of the purpose to be effected; and here we find a subdivision within this group, as follows:

*Sculan* and *motan*, on the one hand, mark the subjective dependence of the agent of purpose upon the will of another than himself, *sculan* giving to this dependence the phase of necessity, obligation, or duty with reference to the purpose

<sup>1</sup> The term 'logical subject' means always in this treatise, not the grammatical subject taken with its modifiers, but the agent of action.

idea; while *motan* denotes this as permitted to the purpose agent by a will more powerful and authoritative than his own.

Finally, *willan*, in contradistinction to the two last-mentioned auxiliaries, expresses freedom of the purpose agent, his independence of any will other than his own in the accomplishment of the final idea.

These relations may appear more clearly from the following scheme:

I. The simple optative: the attainment of the purpose conceived as a thing desired; the mere adverbial relation of action to action thought of.

II. The modal auxiliaries.

A. Objective: *magan*, denoting the purpose idea in its relation to exterior circumstances attendant upon its accomplishment.

B. Subjective: the psychological relation of the agent of purpose to the purpose idea is in mind.

1. Subjective dependence of the will of the agent of purpose upon the will of another.

(a) *Sculan*, marking obligation, duty, &c.

(b) *Motan*, denoting permission granted by a higher will.

2. Subjective independence: freedom of will in the purpose agent: *willan*.

These auxiliaries will be discussed in the following order: *Magan* (218). *Sculan* (133). *Motan* (69). *Willan* (63).

#### A. *Magan* as Auxiliary in the Purpose Clause (218).

*Magan* in its proper sense of *queo*, *valeo*<sup>1</sup> is by far the most common of the modal auxiliaries in Old English; and it has survived in the language of the present as the regular construction in final clauses (Mätzner, *Engl. Gram.* ii. 143). *Sculan*, the nearest rival of *magan* in the early period, has become yet more restricted in Modern English, since only its past tense, *should*, is at all usual in the final clause, which in this case is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. 170. 20 sendon Momertine æfter Romana fultume, ðæt hie wið Pena folce mehte.

apt to be negative, after *lest*. *Willan* and *motan* in the purpose clause are now lost entirely.

Thus in final clauses *magan* has virtually taken the place of the simple optative in the development of English, having lost all tangible modal force and having become with its dependent infinitive a mere circumlocution for the older optative. And from the great predominance in frequency of occurrence which *magan* was taking even within Old English times—a frequency natural since objective conception of purpose, indeed of all adverbial relations, is psychologically more usual—we could only expect that, when in the course of the language modal inflection was lost, *magan*, the objective, denoting purpose in relation to exterior circumstances, would be called upon as auxiliary here, rather than that the subjective, *sculan*, *motan*, *willan*, should be put to a like service.

Hence, in the Old English purpose clause, we often find *magan*, in contradistinction to the other less-used auxiliaries, occurring with no perceptible idea of potentiality. Its difference in force from the simple optative cannot be felt. It is the old law—familiarity has bred contempt, and *magan* through much using is losing in its meaning of potentiality, and is on its way to its modern function, a mere circumlocution for the former optative.

This vagueness of *magan*, this loss of its primitive force, viz. potentiality of the agent of purpose over attendant circumstances, this weakening into the function of the simple optative almost, may be seen for instance in the following versions of M. 2. 8 *renuntiate mihi ut et ego veniens adorem eum*. Here the WS. translator has: *cyðað eft me, ðæt ic cume and me to him gebidde*, showing the simple optative. But Ælfric, Hom. i. 78. 20 and Arch. 101. 312. 17, has without apparent difference of meaning: . . . *ðæt ic mage me to him gebiddan*.

Often in this same way, *magan* + infin. translates a Latin simple subjunctive of purpose. Here the potential force of *magan* can hardly be felt at all. E. g.

PPs. 9. 28 he syt symle on geðeahhte mid ðam welegum

dýgolllice to ðam ðæt he mæge fordon ða unsceððendan (= sedet in insidiis cum divitibus in occultis ut interficiat innocentem. Id. 10. 2 fyllað heora coceras mid fl anum, to ðam ðæt hi magon sceotan ða unscyldigan heortan (= paraverunt sagittas suas in pharetra ut sagittent . . . rectos corde. Id. 22. 8, 9 and folgie me nu ðin mildheortnes ealle dagas mines lifes ðæt ic mæge wunian on ðinum huse (= et misericordia tua subsequatur me omnibus diebus vitæ meæ ut inhabitem in domo Domini. Id. 36. 13 and bendað heora bogan, to ðam ðæt hi magon besyrian ðone earman (= tetenderunt arcum suum ut deficiant inopem et pauperem. Id. 40. 10 arære me, to ðam ðæt ic him mæge forgyldan ðæs lean (= suscita me et (*sic*) retribuam eis. O. 102. 11 ðæt him man worhte anfiteatra, ðæt mon mehte ðone . . . plegan ðærinne don (= suasere . . . ut ludi . . . ederentur. John 11. 57 ðæt he hyt cydde ðæt hig mihton hine niman (= indicet ut apprehendant eum. Int. Sig. 343 ðæt ealle . . . eft gewendað ðanon ðe hi ær comon, ðæt he eft flowan magon (= ad locum unde exeunt flumina revertuntur, ut iterum fluant. Gen. 6. 19 twegen gemacan ðu lætst in to ðam arce mid ðe, ðæt hig libban magon (= bina induces in arcam ut vivant. Id. 19. 2 and ðweað eowre fet, ðæt ge magon faran on eowerne weg (= lavate pedes vestros et mane proficiscimini in viam vestram. Exod. 5. 1 forlæt min folc ðæt hit mæge offrian me on ðam westene (= dimitte populum meum ut sacrificet mihi in deserto. Num. 16. 21 asindriað eow fram ðisre scildigan gegaderunge, ðæt ic hig færlice fordon mæge (= separamini de medio congregationis hujus ut eos repente disperdam. Jos. 3. 7 nu to dæg ic onginne ðe to mærsigenne ætforan Israhela bearnum ðæt hi magon witan (= incipiam exaltare te coram omni Israel ut sciant. Id. 10. 4 bringað me fultum ðæt we magon ða burh Gabaon oferwinnan (= ferite præsidium ut expugnemus Gabaon. Id. 11. 4 and hi anmodlice comon . . . ðæt hig mid ðære meniu mihton oferwinnan Israela bearn (= egressique sunt omnes cum turmis suis . . . ut pugnarent contra Israel. BR. 39. 20 ðu me genyðeradest, ðæt (*sic*) ic mage leornie ðine beboda (= humiliasti me, ut

discam mandata tua. Id. 43. 12 *ðæt a litol wile ðæræfter beo gehealden ðat ða sustren magie gan ut to gecyndrelicare neode* (= *intervallo quo sorores ad necessaria naturæ exeant custodito*. Id. 79. 13 *sy toforan gesettan bigleofan ðæt hi ðe gladlicor . . . ðenian mæge* (= *accipiant . . . panem ut . . . serviant*. Ap. T. 3. 6 and to *ðam ðæt he hi ðe lenge brucan mihte his dohtor arleasan brid-beddes, and him fram adryfan ða ðe hyre girndon to rihton gesynscipum, he asette . . .* (= *et ut . . . fruetur, ad expellendos . . . petitores . . . proponebat*.

Nor, on the other hand, is it to be inferred that *magan* is always colorless, lacking in distinctive potential value. As the examples following go to show, there is often to be seen in the original of the purpose clause itself, a distinct modal idea of potentiality, which naturally finds its expression in *magan*. This will be seen in the examples following:

1. *Magan* translates *posse* of the final clause. *ÆHii. 218. 2 ymbscrydað eow . . . ðæt ge magon standan* (= *induite . . . ut possitis stare* (Ephes. 6. 11). Id. 408. 19 *ðæt ge beon on soðre lufe gewyrtrumode, ðæt ge magon underfon . . . hwæt sy bradnyss* (= *ut possitis comprehendere*. Int. Sig. 356 *Hwi is ðæt tacn . . . gesewen? To ðan ðæt hit ealle men geseon magon and ðæt we beon gemyngode . . .* (= *Cur . . . positum est? Ut . . . inspicere potuisset et ut . . . oculos cordis ad eum attollamus*. Coll. 100. 18 *ac sprec us æfter urum andgyte ðæt we magon understandan* (= *sed loquere nobis juxta nostrum intellectum ut possimus intelligere*. Gen. 6. 20 *faran in mid ðe ðæt hi magon libban* (= *ingredientur tecum ut possint vivere*.

NOTE. Once we meet *posse* + infin. becoming the simple opt. in OE. John 8. 6 *ðis hig cwædon his fandiende ðæt hig hine wrehton* (= *dicebant temtantes eum ut possent accusare eum*.

2. And further, we can often feel in the context even of original Old English passages that *magan* is distinctly potential. E.g. Jud. 15. 9 *hi hine ageafon to hira anwealde, ðæt hig wrecan mihton heora teonrædenne mid tintergum on him*. John 1. 12

he sealde him *anweald* ðæt hi wæron Godes bearn (= dedit illis potestatem filios Dei fieri. LSii. 412. 216 se forgeaf us ða *mihte* ðæt we mihton gehælan. Here the idea in *anweald*, *mihte*, at once makes us anticipative of *magan* in the following clause.

Other examples which seem to show *magan* in its distinctive force, denoting the potentiality of the purpose-agent as to external circumstances, are, e. g.: ÆHi. 580. 31 and stah uppon an treow ðæt he hine geseon mihte. ÆHii. 154. 21 hi . . . ðæt hridder upahengon æt heora cyrcan geate, ðæt men mihton tocnawan ðæs mæran Benedictes mærdæ. Id. 156. 4 ða aheng se munuc ane lytle bellan on ðam stan-clude ðæt Benedictus mihte gehyran. Exod. 7. 9 wircað sum tacn beforan me, ðæt ic mæge eow gelyfan. Jud. 6. 2 behiddon hig on scræfum mid hungre gewæhte ðæt hi mihton gesean. BR. 99. 19 and don hi gearwe, ðæt hi magon to cyrce gan. Ap. T. 18. 15 gan we secan ure gesthus ðæt we magon us gerestan. Nic. 1. 19 hwæt ys ðæt he deð ðæt he mæge eowre æ towerpan?

To summarize, then, what has been said of the syntactic function of *magan*, which alone of all the Old English auxiliaries has survived to any great degree in the modern English purpose clause, we believe that in the great majority of final clauses where it occurs, it is not to be categorically defined. Personal equation and interpretation of the context count for much. We have tried to indicate the two extremes that enclose its long line of values. One is *magan* in its proper force, translating *possum*; the other is *magan* in its faded sense, translating a Latin subjunctive and hardly to be distinguished in Old English from the simple optative. Between these extremes of the scale of potentiality are to be arranged the majority of *magan*-clauses, which arranging each mind must do for itself. (See index-list in Appendix V.)

#### B. *Sculan* as Auxiliary in the Purpose Clause (133).

*Sculan*, the first of the auxiliaries that mark subjective modal relation, expresses the final idea, not as a motive dependent

upon the will of the agent of purpose himself, as does *willan*; but as an obligation, necessity, or duty, dependent upon the will of another than the logical subject of the final clause.

Hence, there is almost always found a change of logical subject in clauses that take *sculan*; the logical subject of the clause, the agent of purpose, being a different person or thing from that of the main verb. It need hardly be remarked here that with clauses containing *magan* and *molan* the purpose agent may or may not co-incide with the subject of the main verb. In *willan*-clauses, it will be seen later, these two always co-incide, just as in *sculan*-clauses they almost always differ.

Hence we have two divisions in the final clauses that contain the auxiliary *sculan*, viz.

1. The grammatical subject of the main verb is not the subject of the final clause: change of subject between the clauses.

2. The grammatical subject of the main verb co-incides with the grammatical subject of the clause, while the logical subject, the agent of purpose, does not.

These divisions will be the headings of the following sections:

1. Change of subject between the clauses.

This is the case in almost all final clauses containing *sculan*, and this is what is logically to be expected in view of the fact that this denotes, or at least connotes, the obligation or duty of the agent of purpose with reference to a will not his own. This will appear in the following illustrations.

O. 80. 26 *he het ða ðæt fæste lond utan ymbfaran ðæt him mon sceolde on ma healfa onfeohtan ðonne on ane.* Id. 238. 16 *Romane gesealdon Gaiuse Iuliuse seofon legan to ðon ðæt he sceolde fif winter winnan on Gallie.* BH. 184. 30 and gehet ðone mæssepreost to hire ðæt he sceolde mid heo gan (= *evocans presbyterum rogavit secum venire.* Id. 256. 19 *sende he . . . his gerefan ðider ðæt he scolde hine fetigan and to him gelædan* (= *misit . . . præfectum . . . ad adducendum eum.* Bo. 145. 14 *ac he us ne ned no ðy hraðor to ðæm ðæt we nede scylen good don.* Cod. Dip. ii. 387. 23 (Eadgifu, 960-963 A.D.) *ða witan*

... gerehton Eadgife ðæt heo sceolde hire fæder hand geclæn-  
sian be swa miclan feo. Mart. 4. 9 hie sealde his gerefan ðæt he  
hie sceolde . . . bregean. Id. 40. 15 ðone sæ he gesette to  
ðon ðæt se sceolde fixas sedan. ÆHi. 372. 34 Simon . . .  
getigde ænne ormætne ryððan innan ðam geate ðær Petrus inn  
hæfde, ðæt he færlice hine abitan sceolde. Id. 416. 25 and  
hine ðreatodon ðæt he ðære deadan anlicnysse his lac offrian  
sceolde. Id. 594. 32 hi hine mid wiððum handum and fotum  
on ðære rode gebundon, ðæt he langlice ðrowian sceolde.  
ÆHii. 112. 24 soðlice se Ælmihtiga Fæder asende his ancen-  
nedan Sunu . . . ðæt hi sceoldon . . . to fulluhte bugan. Id.  
212. 12 and God gesette Josue ðam folce to heretogan ðæt he  
hi to ðam behatenan eðele lædan sceolde. Id. 242. 27 ic  
gesette eow nu soðe gebysnunge ðæt eower ælc sceole oðres fet  
aðwean (= vos debetis . . . lavare. Exemplum enim dedi vobis  
(John 13. 15). Id. 310. 34 and het ðeodolum standan æt  
ðam muðe ðæt he for ðam ogan him abugan sceolde. Arch.  
101. 315. 6 and sealdon heom mycelne sceat to ði ðæt hi sceoldon  
secgan ðæt Cristes lic him wære forstolen. Gen. 2. 15 God . . .  
gelogode hine on neorxena wange ðæt he ðær wircean sceolde  
(= posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis ut operaretur.

2. Co-incidence of grammatical, but not of logical, subject  
between the main clause and the final clause.

Rarely are met exceptions to the rule seen in the last section,  
*sculan* occurring in the purpose clause with no change of gram-  
matical subject from that of the main clause. But this is only  
apparent, since a logical conception of the following sentences  
in their context shows that the subject of the final clause in each  
case is operative in accordance with a will not its own, which  
will is the logical (i.e. thought-) subject, the real agent of action,  
with the main verb. Here we note two categories, as seen in  
the sections immediately following.

(a) The main verb is grammatically a passive, and the *implied*  
agent of this passive is the real thought-subject of this main  
verb. Hence there is *logically* a change of subject between the  
clauses. Examples are :

O. 274. 23 *he wæs Sapan ðam cyninge to ðon geset . . . ðæt he swa oft sceolde stupian swa he to his horse wolde and he ðonne se cyning hæfde his hrycg him to hliepan.* BH. 174. 9 *heo to ðon ðider sende wæron ðæt heo sceolden ðæt gyldne mynet . . . geneoman* (= ob hoc illo fuerint destinati ut . . . assumerent. Id. 398. 25 *wæs ic . . . in his geferscipe drohtigende and him befæsted wæs to ðon ðæt ic scolde æghwæðer ge sang ge bec leornian* (= legendi quidem canendique studiis traditus. AEHi. 16. 27 *ða ongeat se deofol ðæt Adam and Eua wæron to ðy gesceapene ðæt hi sceolon . . . geearnian ða wununge.* Id. 238. 28 *ælc bisceop and ælc lareow is to hyrde gesett Godes folce ðæt hi sceolon ðæt folc . . . gescyldan.* HL. 182. 32 *ic wæs asænd ðæt ic sceolde . . . cuman.* Wulf. 256. 21 *wæron we oft gemyngode to ures Drihtnes hersumnesse ðæt we sceoldan his willan wyrcan.* Ap. T. 6. 16 *he wæs asænd to ðam ðæt he sceolde Apollonium acwellan* (= qui . . . fuerat missus ad necandum juvenem.

(b) The context shows that the subject of the two clauses is in both acting under the direction of a will not his own, that he is performing an *appointed* duty, as a mission, an embassy, &c.; and therefore, though grammatically the subject of the main verb, it cannot be felt as the thought-subject of this in the same way in which it is the subject within the purpose clause. In such case, *sculan*, denoting subjective dependence of the purpose-agent, is found as auxiliary in the final clause, expressing duty, obligation, &c.

Some illustrations are: Chron. 172. 5 *ða com Sparhafoc abb' beweg[e] to him mid ðæs cynges gewrite and insegle to ðan ðet he hine hadian sceolde to b' into Lundene.* BH. 58. 20 (the description of Augustine and his embassy in the presence of King Æthelberht) Warnode he (Æthelberht) him ðy læs hie on hwylc hus to him ineodan; breac ealdre healsunge, gif hie hwylcne drycraeft hæfdon ðæt hi hine oferswiðan and beswican sceolden. Id. 102. 31 *ða geseah he Æðelfrið se cyning heora sacerdas and biscopas and munecas sundor stondan ungewæpnade in geheldran stowe ðæt heo scoldon for heora compweorod gebiddan*

and to Gode ðingian (= ad exorandum Deum. Id. 410. 15 ic com hider ðæt ic sceolde Drihtnes Hælendes ærende Ecgbrihte bringan (= veni ut . . . afferam).

Only rarely, in negative clauses introduced by *ðy-læs*, does *sculan* seem to weaken from its original meaning (*debere*), and appear as little more than a mere circumlocution for the simple optative. It need only be noted that the Modern English idiom of *should* in clauses after *lest* is an extension of this weakening of *sculan*, which began within the Old English period. The occurrences of *sculan* + inf. = simple opt. after *ðylæs* are as follows: *ÆHii*. 162. 33 Ða geseah se halga wer Ðæs arleasan preostes niðfullan ehtnyse, and wende Ða aweg mid his gebroðrum fram Ðære stowe, Ðy-læs Ðe ænig his leorning-cnihta Ðurh his andan losian sceolde. *Inst.* 445. xxii. we sceolon beorcan and bodigan Ðam læwedum, Ðe læs Ðe hy for lar-lyste losian sceoldon.

(For other instances of final clauses with *sculan*, see Appendix V.)

Finally, we have seen that *sculan* in the final clause marks the dependence of the will of the purpose agent upon another will than his own, this dependence being conceived as obligation, duty, &c. ; and that as a logical outcome of this, with the exception noted just above, there is *always* between the clauses a change of *logical* (thought-) subject, *usually* of *grammatical* subject. In no purpose clause of the Old English period, apart from those negated by *ðylæs* mentioned in the last paragraph, has *sculan* weakened in its original force, to become with its infinitive a mere circumlocution for the simple optative, as we have seen to be the case with the more frequently occurring *magan* : but in this exceptional weakening after *ðylæs*, we see the beginning of the regular idiom, *should* after *lest*, in later English.

#### C. *Motan* as Auxiliary in the Final Clause (69).

The primary meaning of *motan*, *mihi licuit*, is always present, when used as modal auxiliary in final clauses: e.g. *Laws* 30. 2 rymeð he Ðam deadan to Ðam aÐe, Ðæt hine moton his mægas

unsyngian (= ampliabit mortuo ad iuramentum, quod licet parentibus suis purgare eum. The context will always reveal that the fulfilment of the purpose is conceived as dependent upon permission received.

Since this permission, unlike obligation (*sculan*) or desire (*willan*), may with equal logical facility be conceived as granted to the *subject of the main verb* or to another person or thing which is the *subject of the final clause*, we have *motan* in purpose sentences both with and without change of subject between the clauses.

The context may denote the permissive force of *motan* in no end of ways; but the following categories are perhaps the most inclusive in Old English, as well as the most clearly defined.

1. *Motan* is found in the purpose clause after verbs implying petition, or the granting of petition.

(a) after *biddan*. Cod. Dip. iii. 274. 28 and hine eadmodlice bidde ðæt he . . . eft minum dege gefelste ðæt min cwide . . . standan mote. Id. iii. 364. 4 nu bidde ic . . . ðæt hi beon on fultume ðæt min cwyde standan mote. - Id. iv. 222. 22 ic bidde eow eallan ðæt ge beon Baldewine abbe on fultume, ðæt he mote beon . . . wurðe. O. 82. 21 and biddende wæs ðæt hie . . . awende, ðæt hie . . . mosten . . . sumne ende gewyrcean. Id. 100. 6 bæden ðæt hie ðæs gefeobtes geswicen, ðæt hie mosten ða deadan bebyrgean. Id. 196. 13 se wæs biddende ðæt him mon fultum sealde, ðæt he moste on Ispanie firdes gelædan.

And without change of subject: O. 48. 23 æt eow biddende sindon to ðon ðæt hie eow on fultume beon moten. Nic. 13. 22 ðu durfe biddan ðone ele of ðam treowe ðære myldheortnyse, ðæt ðu Adam ðynne fæder myd smyrrian mote.

(b) after *forletan*. O. 164. 27 raðe æfter ðam hie bædon ðæt hie mon to hiora earde forlete, ðæt hie mosten gefandian hweðer . . .

(c) after *frið gebeodan*. O. 98. 30 æfter ðeosan gewinne gewearð ðætte Perse gebudan frið eallum Creca folce . . . ðæt hie mosten for him ðy bet ðam gewinne fullgongan.

(d) after *alyfan*. BH. 132. 7 he ne wolde him fyrst alyfan, ðæt he moste his weorod eal gesomnian (= non . . . dederat . . . spatium quo . . . congregaret).

(e) after *sellan fridom*. Sol. 10. 17 se God sealde fridom manna saulum ðæt hy moston don swa good swa yfel. Ap. T. 21. 6 me leafe sealde ðæt ic sylf moste ceosan hwilcne wer ic wolde.

(f) after *gyrnan grið and gisla* (no change of subject). Chron. 174. 27 ða gyrnde he griðes and gisla ðet he moste unswican into gemote cuman and ut of gemote. Also id. 175. 1.

2. *Motan* occurs in purpose clauses, the fulfilment of whose tendency is dependent upon or connected with Deity. Here *molan* seems to give a somewhat reverential tone to the sentence.

(a) with change of subject: Cod. Dip. iii. 363. 35 he me cydde ā mines feder worde, ðæt ic moste be Godes leafe . . . geunnen. Id. iv. 301. 6 God and ealle his halgan gehealde ælcne ðara ðe ðærto gefyrðrige, ðæt he standan mote. PPs. 15. 2 Drihten gefylde ealne minne willan . . . ðæt ic moste ofercuman ða ðeoda. Id. 19. 4, 5 eall ðin geðeaht He getrymie, ðæt we moton fægnian. John 5. 27 se fæder . . . sealde him anweald ðæt he moste deman. BR. 3. 8 eornestlice nu ic sende mine spece to ælc ðare (*sic*) mannum ðæt hit ðurh drihten to fulfremedum ænde cuman mote.

(b) without change of subject: ÆHi. 84. 1 gesælige hi wurdon geborene ðæt hi moston for his intingan deað ðrowian. Id. 178. 10 se heretoga fæste eac feowertig daga and feowertig nihta to ði ðæt he moste underfon Godes æ. ÆHii. 100. 2 (*has the same auxiliary*) ða ða se heretoga Moyses fæste feowertig daga and feowertig nihta tosamne, to ði ðæt he moste Godes æ underfon. Id. 364. 6 we sceolon . . . hine herian, ðæt we moton becuman to his fulfremedan oncnawennysse. Id. 380. 16 uton we herian urne Drihten . . . ðæt we moton ætwindan ðam wælhreawum deoflum. Ap. T. 15. 2 gehiht on God ðæt ðu mote silf to ðam selran becuman.

In all these, predominance of the will of Deity in granting

permission to the purpose agent is expressed by *motan* as a modal auxiliary.

NOTE. Though occurring less frequently, *motan* may be used to imply predominance of other authority than Deity, which authority is conceived as permitting the fulfilment of the purpose idea.

(a) with change of subject. Laws 196. 1 sy ðeah hwæðere ðes ræd gemæne eallum leodscipe . . . to ðy ðæt earm and eadig mote agan ðæt.

(b) without change of subject. *ÆHi.* 386. 3 he nam ða gewrit æt ðam ealdor-biscopum . . . ðæt he moste gebindan ða cristenan (= ut . . . vinctos perduceret in Ierusalem. *Id.* 598. 26 and his broðor heold ðæs halgan Andreas lic mid micelre arwurðnysse ðæt he ætwindan moste.

3. Finally, in sentences that contain ideas of the Sacred, such as future reward or punishment, the Resurrection, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit—things only to be conceived by man as permitted by Deity—we find *motan*. This is related closely to the last category.

(a) with change of subject. *ÆHi.* 302. 8 godspel is us to gehyrenne and ðearle lufigendlic ðæt we moton forbugan hellewite. *Id.* 400. 31 is nu forði munuchades mannum mid micelre gecnyrdnysse to forbugenne ðas yfelan gebysnunga and geefenlæcan ðam apostolum, ðæt hi . . . ðæt ece lif habban moton. *ÆHii.* 478. 11 and gestranga hi on halgum mægnum ðæt hi mid wulder-beage eces mægðhades to ðines Suna Hælendes Cristes clænan geðeodnysse becuman moton.

(b) without change of subject. *ÆHi.* 348. 32 ac uton . . . geomrian mid behreowsunge ure synna, ðæt we ðurh Drihtnes mildheortnysse ða heofonlican wununge swa swa he us behet habban moton. *ÆHii.* 98. 18 tihtað eower mod . . . ðæt ge mid geðylde godne wæstm to Godes handa gebringon, ðæt ge mid him and his halgum ðæt ece lif habban moton. *Id.* 98. 25 we sceolon . . . us . . . aðwean, ðæt we . . . ða Easterlican mærsunge Cristes æristes wurðian moton. *Id.* 402. 27 we aweriað us mid ðære segene . . . ðæt we ealle habban moton ða mede ðe mannes eage ne geseah ne eare ne gehyrde . . . ða ðe God gearcað ðam eallum ðe hine lufiað. *Id.* 494. 35 and us fultumige, ðæt we moton to ðam wulder-beage becuman. *Id.* 574. 13 we sceolon wacian . . . ðæt we moton faran into heofenan

rice mid ðam clænan Brydguman. Id. 580. 29 forði, sceolon cristene men ða fulan leahtras forseon . . . ðæt hi moton beon wurðe ðæs Halgan Gastes onwununge.

(For an index-list of final clauses with *motan*, see Appendix V.)

Finally, *motan*, the second and last of the modal auxiliaries expressing dependence of the will of the purpose agent, can never be said, we believe, to lose its original meaning of permission, so as to become with its infinitive a mere circumlocution for the simple optative. That this idea of permission granted to or bounty bestowed upon the purpose agent by a higher will than his own is palpably present, has been pointed out; and we have also seen that the subject may change between the clauses, or not, according to the demands of the thought expressed.

NOTE. For the formula *magan and motan*, see e. g. Wulf. 94. 12; 129. 13; 148. 11; 150. 16; 204. 7; 215. 9: and for this formula in a final clause cf. HL. 163. 267 to ðan ðæt we *magan and motan* beon dæleomende . . .

#### D. *Willan* as Auxiliary in the Final Clause (63).

*Willan*, in contradistinction to *sculan* and *motan*, marks the finality as a motive of action dependent upon the will of the purpose agent himself. Hence, when *willan* is used as the modal auxiliary of the purpose clause, we find that the subject of the main verb is also always the subject of the clause (cf. p. 107). It need hardly be said that in such case this subject is a personal noun, the name of a rational entity having the capacity of will, or desire. This will be readily understood from the examples following. (For other *willan* clauses, see Appendix V.)

*Willan* used as auxiliary with no change of subject between the clauses: e.g. O. 130. 10 hiene gesohte Minoth(e)o, seo Sciððisce cwen . . . to ðon ðæt heo wolde wið Alexander and wið his mærestan cempa bearna strienan (= Minothea regina excitata suscipiendæ ab eo subolis gratia . . . venit. BH. 320. 33 seo abbudisse in ðæt geteld eode and fea monna mid heo, ðæt

heo ða ban woldon up adon (=abbatisse . . . ossa elevatura et delatura intrasset. Id. 432. 27 to ðon ic ðæt dyde, ðæt ic wolde geahsian (=ad hoc feci, ut . . . agnoscerem. M. 22. 11 ða eode se cyning in, ðæt he wolde geseon ða ðe ðær sæton (=Intravit ut videret. Id. 28. 1 com seo Magdalenisce Maria and seo oðer Maria ðæt hig woldon geseon ða byrgene (=venit . . . videre. John 8. 59 hig namon stanas to ðam ðæt hig woldon hyne torfian (=tulerunt ergo lapides ut jacerent in eum. Cf. Arch. 102. 33. 27, where Ælfric paraphrases: ðæt hi hine torfodon. John 12. 20 sume dæge wæron hæðene ðe foron ðæt hig woldon hi gebiddan (=ascenderant ut adorarent. ÆHi. 94. 17 he cwæð ðæt he ne come to ðy ðæt he wolde ða ealdan æ towurpan (=Nolite putare quoniam veni solvere legem (Matt. 5. 17). Id. 168. 1 se Hælend com . . . ðæt he wolde ealle ure costnunga oferswiðan. Id. 382. 33 cwædon ðæt hi comon fram Hierusalem, to ðy ðæt hi woldon ðæra apostola lic bebyrian. ÆHii. 388. 3 he astah to heofenum ðæt he wolde us ðingian to his ælmihtigan Fæder. Exod. 20. 20 God com, ðæt he wolde fandian eower (=ut . . . probaret . . . venit,

NOTE. Three times in O., *ðencan* is used with the force of *willan*, as auxiliary in the purpose clause, whose subject is unchanged logically from that of the main clause; viz. O. 44. 32 hie wæpna namon to ðon ðæt hie heora weras wrecan ðohton. Id. 132. 11 Ercol se ent ðær wæs to gefaren on ærdagum to ðon ðæt he hie abrecan ðohte. Id. 212. 2 ða for Scipia ðriddan siðe on Affrice, to ðon ðæt he ðohte Cartainan toweorpan.

This use of *ðencan* for *willan* in the purpose clause finds a parallel in Beow. 355, 448, 1535, where it expresses futurity or a wish; e. g. Beow. 355 ða andsware . . . ðe me se goda agifan ðenceð. Here *ðencan*, just as *willan* in final clauses, is merely a sign of subjective independence, in polite speech. The German (*ge*)*denken* is used in the same way. See *Anglia* 10. 550, and cf. Goethe, *Iph.* i. 2 Wenn heut' der König mit dir redet, so Erleichter' ihm, was er dir zu sagen denkt.

So far in the discussion of mode, we have noted first the simple optative, second the modal auxiliaries, *magan*, *sculan*, *motan*, *willan*. Next we turn our attention to the final manifestation as to mode in final clauses, viz.

## III. THE INDICATIVE IN THE PURPOSE CLAUSE (48)

The purpose of an action is the end hoped for. Hope implies desire with expectation; or, using grammatical terms, optativeness with futurity. Hence, we have seen the regular construction in the purpose clause is the optative, which, except in unattained (impossible) wishes, is always of future intent. This is what is logically to be looked for, and what historically occurs both in Germanic (Erdmann, *Deutsche Syntax* i. 136) and in Latin and Greek, the ancient languages with which the former came in contact.

This is the rule. But occasionally, for reasons to be noted later, there occurs in Greek, Gothic, High German, Old Saxon, Old English and later English an indicative in the purpose clause. In Latin alone we have not found it. We will review briefly in the order just given this purpose indicative as it occurs in the cognate languages that have more or less bearing upon the syntactical problems of Old English.

For Greek, I give the results of an article by Ph. Weber in Schanz's *Beiträge* ii. (Würzburg, 1884), who says in substance (on p. 107):—The indicative, instead of a final subjunctive or optative, after *iva*, *ὥς*, *ὅπως* is found first in Æschylus. From this time down to Xenophon occur 9 pret. indicatives after *ὅπως*, 6 after *ὥς* and 41 after *iva*, all evenly distributed, in the dramatists, orators, and philosophers. The explanation of this, he says, is the blending of unreal condition with the purpose idea, though cause and result may also press in.

For Gothic, Klinghardt (*ZfdPh.* 8. 291) says that the final clause is always in the optative; that what seem indicatives are to be explained by anacoluthon before the would-be final clause in which they occur. Balg (*Goth. Lit.* 278) goes a step farther and says, 'A purpose or motive is generally expressed by the optative (of wish),' but he does not cite instances of this implied exceptional indicative. Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* i. 142) finds examples where Gothic *ei* + indicative translates *iva* + subj. or opt.; e. g. John 16. 2 quimith hveila, ei thugkeith

(= *iva* δόξῃ, or John 14. 3 *franima izwis . . . ei tharei im ik*, *tharuh sijuth jah jus* (= *iva* ἤτε, *ut sitis*). But he is inclined to allow consecutive, or result, intent in the Gothic renderings.

Among the OHG. writings, Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* i. 142) finds the indicative occasionally in the final clauses of Otfrid; e. g. Ot. ii. 5, 16 *gispuan, thaz er thaz firliaz* (= 'verlockte ihn, zu übertreten.' However, he says this mode occurs only after *thaz*, never after the purely final *zi diu*, and hence result blending with the purpose idea is to be suspected. For a later period of HG., viz. in Berthold von Regensburg, Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 87) finds the indicative of *sullen* often in clauses of finality; e. g. 3. 39 *hat dir Got fuenf sinne gegeben, daz du lernen sollt*. He suggests that cause blends with finality. In Mod. HG., Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* i. 139-143) finds the indicative in final clauses after both *dass* and *damit*; e. g. Goethe, *Laune des Verl.* 1 *Drum liebt dich der Tyrann, damit er jemand hat, dem er befehlen kann*; and in explanation says (p. 141): 'Im Deutschen lässt sich schon früh mehr als in anderen Sprachen die Neigung beobachten, das Ziel einer Handlung nicht als vor dem Beginne derselben erstrebt, sondern als nach ihrem Ablaufe erreicht anzusehen und darzustellen. Das kann freilich im Indic. Prät. nur geschehen, wenn dasselbe (worüber mittlerweile die Erfahrung entschieden hat) tatsächlich auch erreicht worden ist; im Indic. Präs. aber—gemäss der fut. Bedeutung desselben—auch dann, wenn das Erreichen (oft allzu optimistisch!) bestimmt erwartet oder vorausgesehen wird.' This means, in a word, that the purpose is looked upon as attained—that is, as blending with result.

Coming next to the Low German family, we find Behaghel (*Syntax d. Hel.* 328) noting this same indicative in final clauses of the Heliand; e. g. Hel. 12 *uuordun gicorana te thio, that sie than euangelium enan an buok scoldun scriban*: id. 1228 *uuarun im thar gefarana te thiu, that sia uses drohtines dadeo endi uuordo faron uuoldun*. This, he explains (pp. 328, 371) as a 'Constructions Mischung,' by which he means that the purpose clause is also conceived as a co-ordinate second statement in

parataxis; 'e.g. Hel. 1007 *he haßad maht, that he alatan mag*' is equivalent to, '*he haßad maht, that he alata + he alatan mag.*'

In Middle English, Kellner (*Mittelengl. Syntax* p. 246) notes the final indicative; e.g. *Gesta Romanorum* p. 93 *wacchemen schulde go about the cete and visit eche house, that there was no mysgouernage*. Modern English shows it occasionally as well; e.g. Addison (*Sir Roger* p. 36), *He bid him call a hackney coach, and take care that it was an elderly man that drove it*. Trollope (*The Duke's Children* i. 30) *I am bound to see that your father knows a thing which is of such vital importance*.

Collecting, then, the various explanations given of this indicative in final clauses—the same syntactic phenomena, though occurring in different languages—we have the following:

1. For Greek, says Weber, we have to postulate blending of purpose with unreal conditionality, cause or result.
2. For Gothic, says Klinghardt, we are to understand anacoluthon before the purpose clause.
3. For High German, Erdmann infers admixture of result.
4. For Old Saxon, Behaghel finds a paratactic construction blending with purpose.

And when we turn to the treatment of the indicative in Old English, we are even less liable to suffer under monotony of opinion. Of the six investigators who have treated the final clause widely and searchingly enough to receive recognition, we find two opposing ranks arrayed thus:

1. Prollius<sup>1</sup> (p. 49), Fleischhauer (§ 79), Klinghardt (in *Rev. of Hotz, Engl. Stud.* vi. 264) deny that a clause in the indicative can be one of finality.

2. Mätzner (*Engl. Gram.* ii. 138), Furkert (p. 27), Hotz (p. 35), Wülfing (*Ælf. Syntax* ii. 155) take the opposing view. Hotz and Furkert alone do more than note the occurrence of the phenomenon<sup>2</sup>, and they think it due to the admixture of result.

<sup>1</sup> See *sub* Appendix VI., *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Since in final clauses the ratio of the opt. to the indic. is so overwhelmingly large in the verb-forms that are distinctively opt. or indic. (i.e. 1st,

Thus the problem stands. As may be seen from the lists that follow, the indicative occurs in clauses whose form, intent, and even whose Latin original, are so clearly final in meaning, that to call them instances of result clauses would mean bluntness to all feeling for the Old English sentence. Note for example, L. 8. 12 καὶ αἶρει τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν (= *tollit verbum de corde eorum, ne credentes salvi fiant*) (= yah usnimith thata waúrd af hairtin ize, ei galaubyandans ni ganisaina (= and æt-bryt ðæt word of hyra heortan, ðæt hig ðurh ðone geleafan hale ne gewurðað (= *Wycliffe*: takith away the word fro her herte, lest thei bileuynge be maad sauf; and *Tyndale*: and taketh awaye the words out of their hertes, lest they shulde beleve and be saved. In view of the undoubted finality in this sentence, shown both in the original and the translations, it is impossible to believe that the Old English also, which we have seen in the Gospels to be almost slavish (v. pp. 65, 100) in its adherence to the Latin, was not felt as a purpose clause.

Hence, in view of all that has been said, as well as with reference to the examples which follow, this indicative does not remove the clause from the category of finality. Nor is it to be maintained, on the other hand, that it is an exact equivalent of an optative. The optative denotes purpose *subjectively*. It means that an end of action is conceived as desired, hence as a motive. The indicative denotes purpose *objectively*. It presents the end of action as a reality (not a desire), and hence as a motive. Of course this conception of purpose lies nearer result than to any other adverbial relation, but it is not result. The indicative in the purpose clause means added emphasis, vividness. It probably gave to the Old English final clause a stylistic and syntactical effect similar to that conveyed by 'actually' in: 'They next sunk a shaft in order that they might actually blow up the walls of the stronghold.'

3rd, sing. pres. and pres. plur.), the equivocal forms (i.e. plur. pret. forms in *-on*, *-an*, *-en*) should not be admitted as undoubtedly indicative so freely as does Wülfing, *Ælf. Syntax* ii. 150 ff.

Following are the occurrences of the indicative in final clauses, arranged primarily according to the person of the verb, since Sweet (*Reader* p. lxx) and Hotz (*The Subj. Mode in A.-S.* p. 7) are inclined to suspect the second personal forms in *-st* of not being distinctive as to mode.

1. The verb is in the first person indicative (6).

(a) no auxiliary (3). Sol. 8. 16 *Ðu us getrymedest and gyt trymest on urum geleafum, ðæt us ne magon ða ungelyfædan amirram (sic).* *Ðu us sealdest and gyt silst ðæt angyt ðæt we ofercumað ðone dwolan.* LSi. 498. 173 and *ðinon awyrgedan deofolgildan we næfre nellað offrian, ðy læs ðe we us sylfe gebringað on fylðe.* Ap. T. 27. 22 and *me getæhte ðæt ic to ðe becom (= ut ad te venirem, iter ostendit).*

(b) *sculan* (2). *ÆHii. 14. 8 ic eom cumen to ðe, Danihel, to ði ðæt ic sceal ðe tæcan (= egressus sum ut docerem te (Dan. 9. 22).* Nic. 13. 5 *ic eom Iohannes ðæs hehstan witega and ic eom cumen toforan hym ðæt ic his wegas gegearwian sceal and geican ða hæle his folces.*

(c) *willan* (1). Dial. 298. 7 *we comon hider, ðæt we willað sume ða broðra sændan . . . in camphad (= ad hoc venimus ut de monasterio . . . quosdam fratres in militiam mittamus).*

2. The verb is in the second person (22).

(a) no auxiliary (9). PPs. 36. 33 and *he ðe uppahefð, to ðam ðæt ðu bust eorðan (= et exaltabit te, ut inhabites terram.* Sol. 15. 10 *sohtest æalles hwæt, ðe les (sic) ðu anes hwæt woldest, wynodest, ofer gemet.* *ÆHii. 584. 25 ðe ðe geceas and gesette ofer Israhela rice, ðæt ðu domas settest.* LSi. 126. 163 *ðu bæde ðinum bearnum fyrstes to ði ðæt ðu gelyfdest heora leasum gedwyldum.* Gen. 20. 6 and *ic ðe eac for ðig geheold, ðæt ðu wið me ne syngodest (= et ideo custodivi te, ne peccares in me.* Id. 44. 21 and *ðu bude us, ðæt we hine læddon to ðe ðæt ðu hine gesawe and wistest be ðam ðæt we næron sceaweras.* Num. 23. 11 *ic ðe fette for ði, ðæt ðu mine fynd wirigdest (= ut malediceres inimicis meis, vocavi te.* Jos. 7. 7 *hwi woldest ðu lædan ðis folc hider ofer ðas ea, ðæt ðu us sealdest on Amorrea handum and us fordydest (= quid voluisti*

traducere . . . ut traderes . . . et perderes? Ap. T. 8. 14 Ðæt wyrreste ðingc ðu didest ðæt ðu me warnodest (= Rem fecisti optimam ut me instrueres).

(b) *magan* (6). Bo. 17. 10 ic hit ðe eft eal agife ðæt ðu gereccan miht ðæt ðines agnes wære. Id. 105. 5 ac ðær ic nu moste ðin mod gefiðerigan . . . ðæt ðu mihtest mid me fliogan. Id. 132. 4 ic ðe mæg eac reccan sum bispell be ðæm ðæt ðu hit meaht ðe sweotolor ongitan (v. p. 75). LSii. 350. 253 ic wilnode ðe geseonne ðæt ðu sume frofre ðurh me eaðmodre findan mihtest. Add Nic. 13. 14 and ÆHi. 592. 25.

(c) *sculan* (5). Dial. 228. 22 ure fostefæder me sænde to ðe, Sanctus Petrus, to ðon ðæt ðu sceoldest me alysan of ðissere mettrumnesse (= ad te me misit ut ab infirmitate ista liberare me debeas. ÆHii. 172. 22 we andbidodon ðin, halga fæder, ðæt ðu us ðæs mynstres gebytlu dihtan sceoldest. Wulf. 259. 5 ðe ic hit sealde to ðan ðæt ðu hit sceoldest ðearfum dælan. Nic. 2. 12 se dema ðe het clypian ðæt ðu sceoldest in to hym gan. Id. 13. 11 ic ðe asende to neorxnawanges geate ðæt ðu sceoldest dryhten byddan.

(d) *willan* (2). Guth. 48. 13 ðu iu ðe ahofe ðæt ðu woldest beon gelic ðam ecan Gode. ÆHi. 304. 4 forði ðu come ðæt ðu woldest us fordon.

### 3. The verb is in the third person (16).

(a) no auxiliary (9). O. 234. 23 hie him sendon ane tunecan ongean . . . ðæt he ealles . . . to Rome ne com. John 20. 31 ðas ðing synt awritene ðæt ge gelyfon . . . and ðæt ge habbað ece lif (= scribta (*sic*) sunt ut credatis . . . et ut vitam habeatis. Mart. 40. 3 se uplica sæ is to ðæm geseted ðæt he celeð ðæra tungla hæto. Exod. 17. 6 and ðæt wæter gæð ut of him ðæt ðæt folc hæfð genoh (= et exibat ex ea aqua, ut bibat populus. BlH. 231. 6 ic sende to ðe Andreas . . . ðæt he ðe utalædeð of ðyssum carcerne. Add perhaps CP. 176. 13; 236. 7; L. 8. 12; Lch. i. 348. 8.

(b) *magan* (4). Dial. 264. 7 he . . . ðurhwunað in ðam ungeændedlican wite ðæt be ðon mæg beon ongyten ðæt. Id. 269. 22 anim aweg ðin mod ðæt ðe ne mæg nan man geseon.

Guth. 80. 26 se gast beo gegearwod ðæt ic mæg Gode filian.  
Arch. 101. 318. 2 betwux us and eow is micel ðrosm gefæstnod  
ðæt ure nan ne mæg to eow, ne ge to us.

(c) *motan* (3). Bo. 45. 28 heo forsihð ðonne eall ðas  
eorðlican ðing . . . ðæt hio mot brucan ðæs heofonlican.  
Id. 49. 22 se ilca forwyrnð ðæræ (*sic*) sæ ðæt heo ne mot  
ðone ðeorscwold oferstæppan. ÆHii. 378. 21 ðe ær gesette  
ðære sæ gemæru ðæt heo nateshwon ne mot middaneard  
ofergan.

Occasionally an indicative in the final clause may be due, not  
to a desire on the writer's part to denote the purpose as an  
objective reality, as explained above, but to some peculiarity in  
the context, as in the following examples:

BlH. 239. 8 cum nu mid us ðylæs *we*n is ðæt hi. Here *we*n  
probably contains enough of optative meaning to make the  
combination *we*n is equivalent to (*hit*) *sic*. However, usually  
*we*n *sic* is found, viz. BlH. 243. 19 we ðe on ðissum ne  
hersumiað ðy læs *we*n *sic* ðæt hine God gefreolsige. Also  
L. 14. 8; BlH. 247. 2.

In the following cases, the indicative in the final clause may  
be due to attraction:

(a) of a preceding indicative; viz. Dial. 315. 8 God wolde  
ðæt wære ætewed in ðysum middanearde seo gesyhð ðara wita  
to rihtinge manna, ðæt ða mod ðara ungeleafulra, ða ðe na  
*gelyfað* ðæt syn helle tintregu, hi *geseoð* . . . ðæs tintregan stowe.  
L. 14. 28 sytt he ærest and teleð . . . ðelæs syððan he ðæne  
grundweall legð and ne mæg hine fullfremman, ealle ðe hit  
*geseoð*, *agynnad* hine tælan (= ne posteaquam posuerit . . . et  
non poterit . . . omnes qui vident incipient inludere ei.

(b) of a following indicative; viz. John 20. 31 ðas ðing synd  
awritene ðæt ge gelyfon . . . and ðæt ge habbað ece lif, ðonne  
ge gelyfað on his naman.

NOTE. In the following, the *ðæt*-clause may be felt as appositional to  
the demonstrative *ðam*, and hence the indicative. Nic. 5. 1 ac ic eom to ðam  
cumen on ðysne myddaneard ðæt ælc ðara ða ðe soðfæstnisse lufiað, myne  
stefne gebyrað.

Finally, we hope that the illustrations in the foregoing section have shown beyond doubt the existence of an indicative in the purpose clause, used to express the finality as an objective reality, or due to some peculiarity, of attraction, &c., in the immediate context.

## CHAPTER III

### THE TENSE OF THE PURPOSE CLAUSE

HERE the question is merely one of sequence, and the old rule of Latin Grammar, 'Principal tenses depend upon principal tenses, and historical upon historical,' is valid for the purpose clause in Old English, and indeed for all subordinate clauses. Some illustrations are :

#### I. Primary sequence.

1. A present in the main clause: e.g. John 5. 34 *ðas ðing ic secge ðæt ge syn hale* (= *hæc dico ut vos salui sitis*).

#### 2. A future in the main clause:

(a) present used for future: *ÆHii. 300. 8 he cymð on wolcnum on ðissere worulde geendunge ðæt he gehwilcun deme be his ærran dædum*.

(b) future formed with *sculan* or *willan*: *ÆHi. 400. 4 hwæt sceal ic don ðæt ic hæbbe ðæt ece lif* (= *quid faciens vitam æternam possidebo?* *BH. 328. 26 ic ðec ne wille ofslean ðy læs ic min gehat . . . forleose* (= *nec te tamen occidam ne fidem . . . prævaricem*).

3. A present-perfect compound tense formed with *habban* + the perfect participle, in the main clause: *PPs. 16. 10 ða eagan . . . habbað geteohhad ðæt hi me gebygen oð eorðan* (= *oculos suos statuerunt declinare in terram*. Also *Cod. Dip. ii. 58. 19; Chron. 221. 22; LSii. 336. 40*).

#### II. Secondary sequence.

1. A preterite in the main clause: O. 4. 2 *hu Punice gesetton eft ðone ealdan Hannibalan ðæt he mid scipum wið Romane wunne.*

2. A pluperfect compound tense, formed with the preterite of *habban* + the perfect participle, in the main clause: O. 122. 26 *ðæt hie hiene to ðon gecoren hæfdon, ðæt he mid gefeohte mehte ðæm maran Alexandre wiðstandan.* Also id. 286. 10.

3. An imperfect of continued past action in the main clause: BH. 146. 9 *mid fæderlice lufan hine wæs onbærnende, ðæt heo in ðæm geleafan . . . symle . . . astoden and aa wunedon (= ut . . . persistere semper . . . curarent.* Also id. 98. 10.

The above statements and examples illustrate the rule. However, exceptions sometimes occur giving:

A. A present of the main clause followed by a preterite in the final clause; and conversely,

B. A preterite of the main clause followed by a present in the final clause.

These two phenomena will be treated in the section below under the title,

### IRREGULARITIES OF SEQUENCE (37)

A. The sequence, present . . . preterite (6).

Balg (*Goth. Lit.* 278) finds this sequence only once in Gothic; viz. ii. Cor. 12. 7 *atgibana ist mis hnutho leika meinamma, aggilus satanins, ei mik kaupastedi.* Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 87) points it out very rarely in Berthold von Regensburg. Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* 141) notes its limited occurrence in all periods of High German, where it usually denotes a purpose as unaccomplished. E.g. Schiller, *Graf von Hapsburg*: *Von den Füßen zieht er die Schuhe behend, damit er das Bächlein durchschritte.* English no longer shows this sequence for the final clause, though it may yet be found here and there in subordinate sentences of other kinds. See Kellner, *Eng. Syntax* 235.

In Old English, the instances of this rare sequence are:

1. showing the simple optative: BH. 462. 24 and *forðon ic eom sendeð ðæt ic ðe fram deaðe generede and alysyde (= missus*

sum ut te a morte revocem. *ÆHi.* 462. 20 ure ealdor, swa gebunden swa he is, sent<sup>1</sup> us to mancynne ðæt we hi mið mislicum untrumnyssum awyrdon.

2. with *meahte*: *Bo.* 145. 16 ic ðe mæg eac tæcan sume bisne ðæt ðu ðe yð ongitan meahte ða spræce (= no Lat. parallel).

3. with *sceolde*: *Cod. Dip.* iv. 200. 23 ðæt heo becweðe hire land and ehta into sancte Petre æt Abbodesbyrig swa hire leofest sy be minan fullan geleafan, swa full and swa forð swa ða forewirda ær gewrhte (*sic*) wæran, ðæt hit sceolde . . . gan into ðam haligan mynstre.

NOTE. It is perhaps possible to consider *eom sended* above in *BH.* 462. 24 as a logical past tense. This would at once justify the sequence. The pret. *sceolde* in *Cod. Dip.* iv. 200. 23 also may possibly have been attracted by the immediately preceding *geworhte wæron*, or the *ðæt*-clause may possibly be explanatory of *forewirda*.

4. with *wolde*: *Bo.* 145. 9 ac ælc winð be his andgites mæðe ðæt he hine wolde ongitan, gif he meahte (= no Lat. parallel. *CP.* 120. 17 and swiðe ryhte deð for ðære licettunge ðe he licette, ðæt he wolde habban ða ðenunga ðeawas and ðeodscipe to læronne (= no Lat. parallel).

NOTE. John 18. 8, 9 and 31, 32 only apparently have this sequence, since here in fact a preterite tense of the main verb is to be supplied.

To explain the reason and purport of this variation in sequence is a harder task. We have no Latin parallel to any sentence except the first, and here the original confuses rather than clears the problem. The Old English examples cannot be said to contain clauses of *unfulfilled* purpose, as is the case in the High German illustrations of the phenomenon. Rather in Old English is the purpose conceived as *doubtful* of accomplishment. This may be seen with especial clearness in the last sentence but one cited above, *Bo.* 145. 9, where the added '*gif he meahte*' shows the idea of finality to be thought of as conditional or doubtful or unusually difficult of attainment.

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe translates, 'Our prince, bound as he now is, sent us to mankind,' &c. However, in favor of the form *sent* = *sendeð*, cf. *Mk.* 4. 29 and ðonne se wæstm hine forðbringð, sona he *sent* his sicol forðam ðæt rip æt is (= et cum se produxerit fructus, statim mittit falcem quoniam adest messis).

We have already seen (p. 100) that the optative of wish is logically inherent in the purpose clause, which wish in most cases is a possible one. But if, on the other hand, this be thought of as impossible or doubtful, then we find a preterite optative in the clause, irrespective of the tense of the main verb. For a preterite optative is the means of expressing impossible wish in Old English, as may be seen from Ælfric's *Grammar*, p. 125, where are the words: '*utinam amarem deum = eala gif ic lufode God; swylce ðu cweðe, forgeafe God ðæt ic hine lufode.*'

Hence, finally, the phenomenon rests on the same principle, whether it mark the purpose as *unaccomplished*—see the above-quoted example in High German—or whether it denote that this is thought of as merely *doubtful* or *difficult* of attainment, as we believe to be the case in the Old English sentences. The difference is one of degree, not of kind; and in both the irregularity of sequence is to be regarded as due to a preterite optative of unreal, unattainable, wish standing in the final clause without reference to the tense of the leading verb.

B. The sequence, preterite . . . present (31).

Far more frequent in the Germanic dialects is a variation from the regular secondary sequence, one that allows a present tense in the final clause after a main verb in the preterite form.

Gothic shows this not infrequently (Balg, *Goth. Lit.* 278; Bernhardt, *ZfdPh.* 8. 20). E.g. John 6. 38 atstaig us himina nih theei taujau wiljan meinana (= καταβέβηκα . . . ἵνα ποιῶ (= descendi . . . non ut faciam (= ic ne com . . . ðæt . . . ic . . . do. Also id. 16. 1; Mk. 12. 19; Gal. 2. 2. High German allows the same; Rötteken (*QF.* 53. 87) notes it in Berthold von Regensburg, while Erdmann (*Deutsche Syntax* i. 141) cites other instances; e.g. Walther 15. 13 hie liez er sich reine toufen, daz der mensche reine si. It need only be remarked that modern English and German permit freely enough this same sequence.

Therefore, we are not surprised to find it in Old English,

where it doubtless rests upon the grounds that would explain its presence in the other Germanic dialects, viz.

1. Latin models: the frequent and familiar present subjunctive after the pure perfect, as in '*misimus ut faciat*' = 'we have sent,' &c.

2. Logical considerations; the lapse of the verb into present time after a preterite marks the purposed action or state as continuing.

Of course both these reasons may be exemplified in one and the same sentence. See the citations just below.

1. The Old English sequence, preterite . . . present, translates a Latin pure perfect . . . present subjunctive (16).

CP. 32. 6 forðæm we ðis feaum wordum sædon . . . ðy læs ænig hine underfon durre ðara ðe his unwierðe sie, ðy læs hi ðurh ða wilnunga ðære worldare underfo ðone ladteowdom ðæs forlores (= *diximus . . . ne . . . audeat . . . et . . . suscipiat*. Dial. 100. 3 ic wæs to ðisum hider onsæended ðæt wit nyman and geðicgan samod ða gife ðæs ælmihtigan drihtnes (= *et ego ad hoc missus sum, ut omnipotentis dona Dei pariter sumamus*. Add id. 326. 15. Mk. 11. 28 and hwa sealde ðe ðisne anweald ðæt ðu ðis do (= *quis tibi dedit hanc potestatem ut ista facias?* John 10. 10 ic com to ðam ðæt hig habbon lif (= *veni ut vitam habeant*. Id. 13. 15 ic eow sealde bysene ðæt ge don swa ic eow dyde. Add id. 4. 34; 5. 36; 15. 11, 24; 16. 4; 17. 2, 12, 22. ÆHii. 362. 12 ðu forgeafe him andweald ealles flæsces ðæt he forgife ece lif ðam eallum (= *dedisti . . . ut . . . det*. BR. 39. 20 ðu me genyðeradest ðat (*sic*) ic mage leornie (*sic*) ðine bebodu (= *humiliasti me ut discam mandata tua*.

NOTE. The following, in the relation of the OE. sequence to the Latin, at first seems anomalous. Laws 66. 3 mid him we *sendon* Judam and Silam, ðæt (hi) eow ðæt ilce *secgan* (= *misimus etiam . . . J. et S., qui et ipsi vobis verba referent eadem* (Acts 15. 27). However, the variant *sendað* of MS. G. relieves the difficulty. The OE. translator has only consistently changed the past time of the Latin into the present.

2. The Old English sequence, preterite . . . present, is used

independent of apparent direct Latin influence to denote the *continuance* of the purposed action or state (15).

Cod. Dip. ii. 114. 1 ðæt hy ðæt folcrist arehton ðylæs ænig man cweðe. PPs. 25. 6 ic aðwoqe mine handa . . . ðæt ic meahte hweorfan ymb ðinne ðone halgan alter . . . and ðæt ic mæge cyðan eall ðin wundru. (*Note the effect of the change to the present in mæge.*) Bo. 106. 7 ac ic ðe wolde . . . gereccan, ðæt ðu mæge ðy bet geleafan (= sed uti nostræ sententiæ fides abundantior sit, alterutro calle procedam. Dial. 70. 23 ðis wæs gedon, Petrus, of mycelre stihunge ures scyppendes, ðæt we gehihtan sceolon ða maran god ðurh ða lytlan (= hoc, Petre, ex magna Conditoris nostri dispensatione agitur, ut per minima quæ percipimus sperare majora debeamus. Cod. Dip. vi. 150. 1 (1002 A.D.) hit mid munecon gesette ðæt ðær æfre inne ðæs hades menn under heora abbude Gode ðeowian. Mart. 208. 23 ic ðe ðis sealde, ðæt ðu gehalgie myn hus to cyrcan. ÆHi. 336. 34 ðæt he wære gesewen on ðam atelican hiwe to ði ðæt we sceolon besargian. Id. 446. 14 ðæt wuldorfulle mæden heofonas astah, ðæt heo . . . rixige. Id. 456. 13 and ði he com to ðyssere scire ðæt he aidlige ealle ða hæðengyld. Id. 610. 27 Drihten gecigde hine sylfne mannes Bearn . . . ðæt he us mynegige. ÆHii. 210. 4 and tyn beboda wæron awritene . . . ðæt ða deofellican leahtras ðurh ða bebodu adyde beon. Id. 406. 28 and het læran ða ungelæredan, ðæt men sceolon yfel forlætan. Add ÆHi. 16. 26; BiH. 179. 28; Sol. 8. 16.

In conclusion, we have seen the law of tense-sequence violated in the Old English final clause in two ways:

1. Primary sequence is broken 6 times to mark the purpose as doubtful or difficult of attainment.

2. Secondary sequence is violated 31 times under the influence of the Latin, as well as to denote the continuance of the purposed action or state into present time.

## CONCLUSION

IN closing this study, I have collected the references to those phenomena discussed which have impressed me as being of more than usual interest as syntactical problems, or which may be of some value as determinants of chronology and authorship; viz.

A. Items of syntactic interest may be:

1. The occurrence in the adjective relative clause of the uninflected form *ðæt*, used independently of the gender or number of its antecedent noun (p. 85).

2. The paratactic clause of final intent (p. 91).

3. The fact that only the simple optative occurs as a rule in *þy læs* (*ðe*) clauses (p. 98).

4. The use of *ðencan* for *willan* (p. 115, note).

5. The occurrence of the indicative in final clauses (p. 116).

6. The occurrence of the preterite optative of unreality in the final clause after a primary tense (p. 124).

B. Items that may be of value in fixing chronology or authorship are:

1. The fact that *ðætte* introducing purpose clauses is found only in Northumbrian and EWS. monuments (p. 61).

2. That the formula *to þy* (*ði*) *ðæt*, with instr. form *þy* (*ði*), is not met with in the earlier writings, though it is the rule in Ælfric (p. 66).

3. That Ælfric in his Bible translations shows traces of archaisms or peculiarities that belong to the West Saxon Gospels (pp. 67, 95).

4. That the formula *þy læs ðe*, with appended *ðe*, is not met with in the earlier writings, while in Ælfric it is the rule (p. 98).

5. Tending to corroborate A. Drake's theory that Matthew is affiliated with John, is the fact that these two alone of the West Saxon Gospels have the formula *ðe læs ðe*, with appended *ðe* (p. 96, *ð*).

## APPENDIX I

A CHART of the Old English prose-texts arranged in approximately chronological order, showing the numerical occurrences of all Purpose Clauses therein, with reference to the introductory words or formulæ and to the modal manifestation of the verb.

NOTE. For the sake of convenience in binding, this has been placed next the cover.

## APPENDIX II<sup>1</sup>

### INDEX-LIST OF *ÐÆT*-CLAUSES

OET. Vesp. Psalms. (Refer to psalm-number and verse.)

8. 3 : 9. 15, 21, 35 : 10. 3 : 13. 2 : 25. 6 : 26. 2, 4 : 29. 12 : 30.  
3, 14 : 36. 14, 34 : 38. 5, 14 : 40. 7 : 49. 4, 15 : 55. 13 : 59. 6 :  
62. 3 : 63. 4, 6 : 66. 3 : 72. 28 : 77. 6, 18 : 79. 3 : 85. 11, 17 :  
91. 15 : 93. 12 : 100. 6 : 101. 18, 20 : 103. 14, 15, 21, 27 : 104.  
22, 39, 45 : 105. 5, 8, 23, 47 : 106. 7, 21 : 107. 6 : 108. 27 :  
110. 7 : 112. 8 : 118. 11, 37, 71, 73, 76, 95, 125, 134 : 144. 12.

Vesp. Hymns. (Refer to page and verse.) 403. 18 : 408.  
26, 34 : 416. 10.

Chron. (page and line) 3. 12 : 69. 26 : 138. 23 : 174. 6 :  
221. 24.

Cod. Dip. (page and line) ii. 58. 19 : 387. 23. iii. 60. 37 :  
112. 17 : 274. 28 : 305. 14 : 363. 34 : 364. 4. iv. 199. 14 :  
200. 23 : 276. 30 : 278. 27 : 301. 6. v. 333. 6. vi. 150. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The index-lists in this and the three appendices following are designed to be supplementary to their respectively corresponding categories in the body of the work.

Laws (page and line) 16. 13: 30. 2: 58. 10: 66. 3: 82. 2: 154. 12: 160. 6: 198. 15, 22: 202. 12: 392. 18.

PPs. (psalm-number and verse) 9. 19, 30, 38: 10, heading: 10. 1: 15. 2: 16. 10: 19. 4: 23. 8: 25. 6: 30. 2: 33, heading: 33. 7: 42. 3: 48. 7: 50. 8.

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## D. Willan.

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